

TRAVELS
ROUND THE WORLD,

IN THE YEARS

1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771.

BY

MONSIEUR DE PAGES, *K*

CAPTAIN IN THE FRENCH NAVY, KNIGHT OF THE
ROYAL AND MILITARY ORDER OF ST. LOUIS,
AND CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
AT PARIS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771

BY J. T. R.

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CAPTAIN OF THE FRENCH NAVY, KNIGHT OF THE

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MONSIEUR DE C.



THE favourable opinion you are
pleased to express of my Travels,
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that zeal for the general interests
of men, and the encouragement of
the public service by which you
are eminently distinguished.

I

Yours &c.

A
LETTER

TO

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE C.

SIR,

THE favourable opinion you are pleased to express of my Travels, ought not, I am afraid, to be attributed to their merit, but solely to that zeal for the general interests of men, and the encouragement of the public service, by which you are eminently distinguished.

A 2

It

It was never my intention to submit to the criticism of strangers the faults and imperfections of my style, which, I confess, has often appeared defective to myself; and nothing but your authority could have engaged me in the design of putting my crude diary in order. Mons. le Comte de Buffon and you have, unfortunately perhaps, over-ruled my judgement. Your friendship, and the very flattering suffrage of that excellent genius, so justly celebrated in the annals of literary fame, for his taste, for his precision, and for that incomparable pencil with which he has traced the History of Nature, could not fail to seduce me. Nevertheless, to consent that my travels shall be offered to the perusal of the public, must

THE COUNT DE C. IV

must be a very perilous compliance ; but still, however unaffectedly diffident of my own compositions, and whatever may be their fate in the judgement of the world, I cannot decline yielding to your request. It is unnecessary to say, that I have no pretensions whatever to the qualities expected in an author ; that the business of active life has afforded me neither time nor opportunity to acquire them ; and therefore in the following pages I presume only to give a simple and inartificial description of objects, as they impressed themselves upon my mind. But, Sir, will others show the same candour and indulgence with you ? Will the public, for the sake of unadorned truth, pardon the style of a military

man, who has been long a wanderer in wild and savage countries ; who seeks only to convey his sentiments to the reader without confusion ; and who, little concerned for the studied ornaments of composition, is ambitious of perspicuity alone ? This work is the production neither of a philosopher, nor of a man versant in letters ; it is the plain relation of a traveller, the friend of man and of nature, who affects not the character of deep sagacity, but rather that of candid and common observation. In considering persons, manners, and things, the natural sensibility of my mind frequently gives occasion to reflections, which I have no doubt must claim the reader's indulgence ; but if he will condescend

scend to be my companion in the course of long and painful travels, which I undertook in the hope and earnest desire of serving my country, as well as of gratifying the early and innocent propensities of my own mind, I am confident the indulgence I solicit will not be withheld.

I am soon to sail for France; My health is considerably improved, and the continuance of war renders my presence necessary at home. But, in spite of the very sincere pleasure I have in the prospect of meeting with my friend, I cannot, though my absence should only prove temporary, part without extreme regret from my delightful valley of Baradaire. Alas! the

beauty of this climate, and the peaceful rural borders of my river, accord more with my feelings than the noisy and contentious scenes which await me in Europe. It is in the constancy and resources of your friendship alone that I can hope to be compensated for the pleasures I must relinquish with my present retreat.

I have the honour to be, with sentiments the most sincere and respectful,

S I R,

Your most humble,

And most obedient servant,

PAGÉS.

Baradaire, St. Domingo
10th May 1780.

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TRAVELS ROUND THE WORLD,
BY SEA AND LAND.

PART I.

A VOYAGE WESTWARD FROM THE COAST OF
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at that Island for New Orleans.*

BEFORE I proceed to the narrative of
my Voyage round the World, I have
only to observe that, invited by certain cir-

cumstances relative to my private views, as well as on account of the service of the navy in which I have the honour to be engaged, I conceived the design of exploring the Indian seas by a western navigation.

It was in the next place my intention, pursuing a course towards the north, to traverse China and Tartary, and, having penetrated as far as the coast of Kamtschatka, to direct my industry, in the line of the Russian shores, to the discovery of a north-west passage.

To study the manners and customs of these northern tribes, to assume their dress and character, and, by attending them in all their expeditions, to move on from one village to another along the sea-coast, were the very simple means by which I hoped to accomplish this last part of my plan. I had little doubt of meeting with this great object of nautical investigation somewhere on the northern confines of Siberia; or, if the continuity of land should conduct me into the polar regions of America, I should at least have the satisfaction to ascertain the
absolute

absolute impossibility of any such communication: but being unable to obtain, as will afterwards be mentioned, letters from the missionaries of Luconia to their friends in the Chinese dominions, I was under the necessity of desisting from this part of my intended expedition.

I used, even from my childhood, to read with lively emotions the relations of travellers who had been engaged in the discovery of unknown countries; and at a more mature age, the conquests of European nations in the two Indies, and the adventures of the Russians in the northern parts of their vast empire, awakened my ambition for similar enterprizes; but above all, an ardent desire to survey Nature's works in the native charms with which they came from the hand of the Creator, became in me a stimulus to action, and obtained entire possession of my mind. I was strongly persuaded that inconstancy, impatience, and a crowd of idle and artificial wants, incident to men who, from their birth and education, have been exclusively invested with the command of every important expedition,

would easily account for the little advantage derived to the public from many preceding voyages. Hence I was inclined to infer, that a hardy and laborious manner of life, maintained with fortitude and perseverance, was the only probable means of rendering the enterprizes of the traveller of some benefit to mankind : and, having an opinion that man is originally free from malice, innocent, and inoffensive, in proportion as he is removed from the arts of a refined and luxurious life ; an extreme simplicity in my whole conduct and character, however disliked by the fastidious taste of the polished European, promised to be my best recommendation to rude and uninformed minds. In these views, I lost sight of every difficulty before me, reflected on the outlines of my plan with all the ardour of enthusiasm, and was only solicitous for an opportunity of carrying it into effect.

Such was the state of my mind, when, in the year 1766, my duty as an officer called me from Rochfort to the island of St. Domingo, concerning which I have nothing to observe, since that country, as well

as the navigation thither, has been long sufficiently known.

In conformity to these rules, by which I hoped to escape the miscarriages of former travellers, I began to inure myself to habits of life as simple and severe as new to my experience; a course of discipline, however, I will fairly own, rather imposed by necessity than embraced from choice, having neither fortune nor credit sufficient to enable me to visit, in the easy and convenient manner I could have wished, nations either wholly savage, little civilized, or for particular reasons averse to strangers. I now hastened to the accomplishment of my favourite plan with every degree of alacrity and dispatch, consistent with the regard I owed to the service; and availing myself of an opportunity I might never have found equally propitious to my design in any other place than Cape François, I resolved to depart.

I embarked in a French vessel bound to New Orleans, relying for success in a submission to Providence, on austere habits of life, on courage; and on a perseverance by which I hoped to overcome all toil and

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fatigue, and even the hardships of bodily labour, when on any occasion circumstances might render that expedient. New Orleans had lately been ceded to the Spaniards, but still I was in hopes it might be possible to pass through the country, which lies between the rivers Mississippi and Rio Grande, or Bravo, which separates the province of Louisiana from New Spain, and which is inhabited entirely by savage tribes. This comprehends an immense extent of country; but, undismayed by the many difficulties in my way, I determined to pursue the tract I had projected, and to endeavour to enter the province of New Spain by the frontiers of New Mexico.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Arrival at the Entrance of the Mississippi—Description of that River, and of the Mobile—the Precautions to be observed in navigating this perilous Coast.

WE sailed from Cape François the last day of June 1767, steering for the old channel; and the wind being easterly, our course was west-north-west. Keeping more to the north-west, we gradually lost sight of land, and passed north of St. Nicholas' Mole, at the distance of eight leagues. Continuing our course under the same wind, we soon observed the coast of Cuba, saw Cape de Mulas, and proceeded in quest of the islands de Palumas, which form, on the side of the main, the entrance to the old channel; but in order to make sure of these islands, their situation being extremely low, we had been at great pains to ascertain Cape de Mulas; for the continuation of the coast of Cuba is not easily perceived, and it requires all the skill and

address of an intelligent pilot to approach it without danger. We entered the channel with the islands of Palumas on the left, and Sandy Islands on the starboard side. It is here five leagues in breadth, and continues much the same for almost sixty leagues. The old channel is formed on the side of the ocean by a chain of small islands and rocks, which extends to the channel of the Bahamas; and on the side of the island of Cuba by a reef of rocks and sand-banks, stretching out of sight from land.

The wind was still at east, with a gentle breeze; and having the advantage of the current, we had the good fortune to clear the channel in the space of four days. It is surprising, that ships which have occasion to navigate those seas expose themselves to a long, and, by reason of frequent calms, a tedious voyage south-west of Cuba; since, by pursuing the old channel, if the master be but properly on his guard, all those inconveniences may easily be avoided. We now stood directly for Matance, an inland mountain, westward from a bay of the same name, which seems to overtop the circum-
jacent

adjacent mountains in the form of a hat, whence it has been named Chapeau de Montance. Having discovered Havannah in the island of Cuba, we stood off the coast, and proceeded to investigate the soundings of the Turtle Islands, situated south-west from Cape Florida. Sounding in the south-west of these isles, where they are not to be perceived on account of their very low situation, we had fifty fathoms water, on a bottom of blackish sand, and this they deem the characteristic mark of those soundings. We veered a little to the west, in order to stretch across the curvature formed by the gulph of Florida, and immediately lost them. Here we were detained by calms, and saw multitudes of gold fishes, uncommonly large, and about five feet in length: they are distinguished by a variety of beautiful colours, which glance upon the eye in an entertaining manner. I observed, that the force of the current from south to north (a current probably owing to the trade winds, and the position of the neighbouring lands) was strongest when the wind blew fresh at north. This appearance I can only explain,
by

by supposing that the billows, driven by the violence of the north wind against a reef of rocks which stretches to the east-south-east, rebounding, pass over their heads, and fall into a calm sea; when its level being raised above that of the ocean, the waters, in recovering their equipoise, exhibit this extraordinary phænomenon.

The winds freshened, and we stood away for soundings between the river Mobile and the south-east branch of the Mississippi; and having found forty fathoms on a bottom of black clay, we continued our course with the same depth of water. It is in this quarter that the navigator investigates the sound; for being to the north-east of the south and south-east branches, he here edges into the current of the south-east, and suffers himself to drift with the stream, keeping in a depth from twenty-five to thirty fathoms, until he gets in view of a sea mark. This he may discover five leagues off, and the ship comes to anchor north-east from it, at the distance of two leagues, to avoid the force of the current, as well as the inconvenience of immense
trees

trees which are drifted down. The bottom of the Mobile consists of a black clay; that of the south-east branch of the Mississippi of a whitish clay with a small mixture of fine sand; and that at the sea mark is likewise of a whitish clay, but entirely destitute of sand. If, in coming to anchor, the pilot is regardless of these instructions, he will be in danger of drifting out to sea by the south-east entrance, and by the eastern and southern straits of the south or main branch of the river; he would then be carried through the western straits of the same southern entrance; when crossing the third branch, which discharges itself into the ocean, he would fall in with currents running towards the Bay of St. Bernard; a bay but little known, and, from its frequent sand banks, and a coast generally under water, much dreaded by navigators.

The principal entrance, which, as I have already said, is that of the south, contains various straits or channels separated by small islands, which are liable to be covered at high water during the spring tides. One of them, situated west from the southern strait,

strait, was occupied by the French, who erected a beacon for the convenience of such shipping as might have occasion to anchor on the south coast. The Spaniards took possession of another lying east from the south-east strait; here they raised a battery, and erected a beacon, maintaining several pilots for the navigation of that channel, which appears to me by far the most convenient of the two. The arrival of vessels being generally from the east, and as the wind is most prevalent in the same quarter, it is found, that sailing in a north-west direction is more convenient than due north; by the latter route there is, besides, less jeopardy of being drifted into the Bay of St. Bernard. Here are, however, difficulties in both straits; and it is no small disadvantage to the last, that it contains only eighteen feet water in a channel which must be navigated with great care against a most formidable current; we entered this strait with the assistance of a pilot.

I was extremely surprised with the beauty of the Mississippi, whose waters, after mixing with the sea, preserve their freshness and
pale

pale colour two or three leagues from shore. The force of the current, still perceptible at that distance, carries out to sea vast trees, which have fallen from age, or are undermined by the stream, to the molestation of such ships as happen to come in their way.

In the free and regular course of the river, it runs at least two leagues and a half an hour. The water driven to the banks by the great rapidity of the current, acquires a motion different from what is observed in the middle. We made it our business to profit by this circumstance, by keeping the vessel in the eddy; but, in spite of every precaution, we made little way. The wind, though rather in our favour, was inconsiderable, and we had frequently to contend with currents of extreme rapidity. Our hardships were also greatly aggravated by vast swarms of mosquitoes and sand-flies, the stings of which are exquisitely painful. The low and marshy banks of the Mississippi are covered with reeds, which are particularly favourable to the increase of these insects; and Nature, one would think, is careful to diversify their species,

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species, with a view to render the smart they occasion to the traveller as various as it is poignant ; for I could perceive the sensations of pain to differ with the form, size, and colour of the fly. The vast green surface of reeds presented to the eye, tall and undulating like the waves of the sea, might have afforded an entertaining prospect, could we have forgotten to what malicious guests they gave shelter. The most troublesome species of these insects during the heat of the sun is named *frappe d'abord*, a fly which bites the instant it alights on the skin, with such effect that the blood immediately follows, and hence the origin of its name. The fresh breeze of the evening banishes them to the covert of their reeds, but they are succeeded by myriads of gnats, which we endeavoured to drive away by kindling a fire, a remedy in use among the natives of Louisiana against the sting and importunity of this intolerable race of insects.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

Navigation up the Mississippi—Description of the romantic Country situated upon its Banks—Cultivation of the Province of Louisiana—Character, Mode of Life, and Commerce of the Settlers—Particulars respecting the indigenous Inhabitants—Description of the City and Harbour of New Orleans.

HAVING sailed ten leagues farther, we came to the separation of that branch which forms the south-east entrance of the Mississippi; and here we passed an oyster marsh, in which were shells of prodigious size, used by the inhabitants for the purposes of lime-stone. The fenny banks of the river afford a retreat to multitudes of morass fowl, which, for the sake of their oil, receive an annual visit from the industrious inhabitants of New Orleans. Fifteen leagues above the entrances of the river we came to the creek Plaquemines, so named from a kind of fruit very pleasant to the taste. Here the country beginning
to

to rise above the level of the Mississippi, the scenery becomes truly magnificent. On each bank are trees of wonderful size, which, warped in the wild luxuriance of plants and underwoods, form a thick wood impervious to the rays of the sun. Having made my way with much difficulty into the forest, the soil, matted with a compost of rotten leaves and branches, presented in some places agreeable walks, whilst frequently we were intercepted by pools of stagnant water, or by enormous trunks of trees, which a long series of ages had levelled with the ground. The swan and cardinal, natives of these woods, are eminently beautiful in their plumage; and the warbling of the last is equally sweet and delicate with that of the finest songster in Europe. In the nooks and angles of this river we met with ducks, teals, and other wild fowls, in abundance, nor is its stream scantily supplied in different kinds of large fish, such as the barbed and armed fish, whose sharp armour frequently admonishes the fisherman to avoid imprudent eagerness in seizing his prey. The wounds inflicted
by

by these animals are constantly attended with inflammation and swelling.

In this little bay of the Mississippi we were overtaken by a violent storm, which, as we were moored to a tree, snapped our cable, and dragged the anchor to the opposite side. I find it is more common in this navigation to secure the vessels by means of hawsers fastened on the bank, than by dropping an anchor, which it is extremely difficult to heave up, on account of the large trees that lie scattered in the bed of the river.

We now approached houses and plantations of rice and Indian corn. Rice is seldom sown here but in fields, which being only one or two feet above the level of the river, admit of canals for the purpose of watering them. Indian corn is cultivated over the whole province of Louisiana, but the crops are no where equally fine and abundant as in this part of the country. The houses of the inhabitants are tolerably pleasant, and erected several feet above the surface of the ground, in order to guard against the humidity of the soil, serpents, and other

noxious animals. The floor is constructed of square pieces of large timber, dovetailed and supported by strong beams and pillars. The body of the building, resting on another set of pillars, has four façades, with a gallery to each, and contains the family apartments. They consist only of one story, and are covered with thin pieces of cypress wood, disposed and fixed on the roof in the manner of European slating. Each house is bordered by a piece of water, and is placed in the middle of a little plantation about two hundred paces square. The noble trees which once occupied this soil have been employed in building and in fencing the plantations; and in order to get rid of the remainder with the least trouble and difficulty, they usually burn them. In plantations, however, newly inclosed, one still meets with large trunks, which cost the planter much labour to root out and clear away.

After ascending eight leagues higher, we came to the *Anse Angloise*, and at the distance of five leagues higher, on the 28th July, we dropped anchor opposite to New Orleans.

Orleans. This city stands about thirty leagues above the entrances of the river, and only one from a lake which communicates with plantations lately ceded to the English. All the way from three leagues above the creek Plaquemines, the banks are cultivated and populous. The harbour of New Orleans is large and commodious, its population but moderate; the houses are built of brick, the streets clean and broad, and some buildings, particularly those which belong to the king, are extremely handsome. The complexion of the people is fair, thin persons, robust, and their natural character cheerful and manly. The resident inhabitants consist of the garrison, and such as hold public employments, merchants, and artisans of all denominations. The planters, who are attentive to the cultivation of their estates, as well as the merchants who live far up the country for the purpose of trading with the savages, are only seen in the capital during the intervals of their industry and traffic.

I cannot sufficiently admire the bold and intrepid character peculiar to the people of

Louisiana, who, embracing the life of savages, assume their dress, and, for a very slender recompence, submit to their most laborious occupations. While some wander towards the sea-shore in the chace of morass fowls, whose oil is productive of a small branch of traffic, others ramble four or five hundred leagues into the country to hunt the bear, the deer, and the wild buffalo, and return laden with their skins, containing the flesh and fat in a dried state of preservation. Some penetrate into the depths of their forests in search of the cedar, the cypress, and the maple-trees, which afford a very profitable trade with the American islands. To transport the productions of their own soil to these islands, and bring back in exchange different articles of commerce, is the employment of others. Some, lastly, carry commodities four or five hundred leagues into the country, by an inland navigation, and on these occasions are known to subdue with the oar currents of amazing rapidity. On their expeditions by land they live entirely on the game they happen to kill; while

while a loose shirt, and a stripe of cloth tied about their loins, serve them for cloathing. They travel, however, as much as possible by water, and employ canoes, or rather excavated trees, for the purpose of conveying themselves and families to the scenes of hunting or traffic. Upon their arrival, a hut, consisting of the branches of trees plaistered over with mud, being reared for their accommodation, they begin to exercise their industry, particularly in discovering what is called the waxen-tree; from whose twigs they contrive to detach that substance, in the following manner: having cut the small branches in pieces, and placed them in a kind of tub, taking care to leave a certain space between the sticks and the bottom of the vessel, they make a warm ley continue to run over them for several days. Meanwhile, the greasy particles are insensibly separated from the twigs, and falling to the bottom form a sediment, which cools into a cake of greenish wax, fit for the manufacture of candles. These occupations render the inhabitants of Louisiana a very hardy race, and inure their minds as well

as bodies to those bold and laborious pursuits from which they retire for temporary relaxation to the city of New Orleans.

I was no less disposed to relax a little after the severe fatigue, which, from my new manner of life in my passage from Cape François, I had experienced: for, in order to begin be-times to habituate myself to hard labour, I had made it my business, inexperienced as I was, to perform the duty of a sailor. At New Orleans I made every inquiry respecting the possibility of travelling by land to New Spain; and learning that the last French settlement among the savages in the south-west, named Nachitoches, was only seven leagues distant from the first Spanish post, named Adaés, I resolved to undertake this perilous journey.

Meanwhile, I passed my time in admiring the beauty of the country about New Orleans; where I saw, for the first time in my life, the people we call savages: I could discover, however, no reason for their having received this harsh appellation, except it be that their manners are more simple,
and

and their occupations more bold and manly, than ours. One trait of character I have often admired in the savage, I mean that phlegmatic serenity of mind which never forsakes him in any situation, or under any event, adverse or prosperous. I contemplated, with agreeable surprize, the noble shapes which grace the persons of both sexes ; the chesnut or olive complexion ; the muscles unincumbered with fat, strong, nervous, and elastic. And although the face is undoubtedly that part of the human form which is chiefly interesting, yet I confess I had more pleasure in surveying the person of the savage as a fine model for the statuary in the gracefulness of his body and limbs. That bold tendon which runs on each side of the spinal bone, has, in a state of nature, a very striking effect. The bosom of the female, though not large, is round and elastic ; and she usually paints a rose round the nipple with a particular preparation of gunpowder. In both sexes the features of the face are heavy, without indicating, however, a stupid, or insensible expression. The rude short locks of the savage

hang carelessly about his ears, while his forehead is incircled with a chaplet of beads, and his person with the same gaudy ornament in the form of a sash. The women are particularly fond of this trinket, which they wear in the manner of bracelets on their arms and legs; and I am uncertain whether the European female in all her jewels, or the simple Indian decorated with her beads, is most vain of her appearance. A piece of deer skin tied round the waist is a covering in common to both sexes; but on the female it is longer, and descends to the calf of the leg; and when the savage is disposed to squat on the ground, a posture to which he is extremely addicted, a large skin or blanket defends him from the inclemencies of the weather.

The natives repair to New Orleans in order to purchase a luxury, of which, unfortunately for them, we have taught them the abuse; and give in exchange for this pernicious drug, fruit, fish, fowls, and game. I had the curiosity to buy some of their fish, which I found very coarsely eured, but still so as to keep a long time without

without danger of spoiling. The external surface of the fish is scorched to a kind of cinder, and the inward substance, being by this means discharged of those juices which accelerate putrefaction, is preserved to supply their future wants.

CHAP. IV.

The Author embarks at New Orleans in a trading Canoe—several French and other Settlements described—civilized State of the Indians, and their affectionate Attachment to each other.

DURING the short time I passed at New Orleans, which was scarcely seven days, a merchant equipped a canoe of five oars, in order to trade with the Indians in the neighbourhood of Nachitoches; and, embracing this opportunity of pursuing my travels, I embarked and sailed the 4th of August. Our bark was thirty-five feet
by

by four, and made to go lightly and steadily through the water. She consisted of a single tree, her head being a protuberance of wood, which rose two feet above the hulk in the form of a shell half opened. The sides of the shell presenting their edges to the current, were meant to disperse the water at the bottom of the falls, and likewise, dividing the stream in our ascent, guarded her against the danger of upsetting in the river. We were eight persons on board ; five rowers, of whom two were negroes, and one a Canadian, lately arrived from that country by land ; the master, the proprietor, and myself.

The strength of the current, joined to many other embarrassments, prevented us from sailing more than four leagues a-day ; drifted trees, which lay entangled in the bed and borders of the river, impeded us much : their position is commonly athwart the stream, and, forming a kind of barrier, they change the direction and augment the rapidity of the current ; a circumstance which renders the navigation of the river extremely dangerous, as the canoe is in
constant

constant jeopardy of sticking fast on the trunk or stump of a tree.

On each side the river we observed excellent crops of indigo and Indian corn, with different kinds of fruit, particularly peaches in abundance. Here agriculture is conducted in a more regular manner, and advances farther into the woods, than we found it lower down on our way to New Orleans. We passed several handsome houses and gardens, belonging to French planters; and a few leagues farther met with a German colony, who are in every respect equal in point of industry to the French. We next came to two districts of Acadian refugees, who, being the last settlers, are neither in easy circumstances, nor have acquired superior skill in husbandry. These little colonies terminate on the left side of the river, at a channel which communicates with * lake Ponchartrain; and here

* During the time the French were in possession of Fort Manchac on the borders of this canal, the English, becoming masters of the Mississippi by the peace of 1763, erected another on the opposite side. But as this canal communicates

here end the island of New Orleans, formed by the sea, the Mississippi, the Channel; lake Ponchartrain; and the river Mobile. The distance hence to New Orleans they reckon thirty leagues, a space wholly covered with a border of plantations at small intervals from one another. On the left side of the river we came to several villages of savage Indians, named *Choctas* and *Tou-nicas*, of which were those I had seen at New Orleans. On the right bank at some distance, is the separation of that branch of the Mississippi which discharges itself into the sea towards the south-west; we observed, likewise, some habitations in the same quarter. Some days after we arrived at a considerable French settlement, called *Pointe Coupé*, and here tobacco is the only production not found in Louisiana: the qualities of their soil, and the structure

communicates with Florida, by means of the Mississippi and Ponchartrain; and as the Mississippi, of which they had obtained the free navigation, runs from Canada all along the province of New England, they were enabled to open a trade with the savages west from those boundaries, and probably began to extend their views to the kingdom of Mexico.

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of their houses, are nearly the same as in that province; and the inhabitants have the manners of New Orleans, but are less civilized. On days of festivity they appear decently dressed; but in their ordinary habits of hunters they wear only a shirt, with a slip of cloth to cover their nakedness. At home the women wear a short single petticoat, without a shift, having their shoulders and bosoms completely exposed. This country is tolerably populous, and lies contiguous to different lakes, which afford to the inhabitants a communication with Aperiouffas, another French settlement farther to the westward. A little higher, and on the opposite side of the river, is a savage village, where the natives, like those I met with on the Mississippi, use muskets and tomahawks, and may be said to retain nothing of the savage but the name. In summer they cultivate fields of Indian corn; and in winter they follow the chase, the produce of which, after supplying their own wants, is sold to Europeans. They hire themselves occasionally as servants,
for

for here two of our rowers having fallen ill, were replaced with a couple of savages.

The hair of the beard, which in general they are at much pains to pluck out by the roots, is permitted to grow in length the fifth of an inch as an emblem of mourning. I have had occasion to observe in the Philippine isles the same paucity of beard, which I believe to be universal among all the natives of hot climates. The savages are often seen to weep over the graves of their departed relations. The wife of one of the Indians we had taken into the boat being lately deceased, his beard was allowed to grow, in testimony of his sorrow; and this poor man engaged in our service for no other reason than to withdraw himself from the presence of those objects which constantly recalled her to his mind. One day, having gone aside to mourn over his departed friend, he unexpectedly spied his own daughter, about the age of twelve years, swimming in the river with her companions. He caught her eye, and instantly turned from her; but the young savage, who had perceived his affliction, quitting

her amusement, fell into a fit of melancholy, and retired to the solitude of her hut.

Their mode of swimming is somewhat different from ours. The savage throws himself into the water, and darting forward with astonishing force, beats the river with his feet and hands; an exercise in which both sexes are equally expert.

The other savage was a young man who had been lately married, and his wife expected the moment of their separation with the utmost regret. We were apprehensive she might prevail upon him to renounce his engagement; and it was not without much art and persuasion that we were able to restrain him from complying with her entreaties. The promise, however, of a blanket for himself, and a piece of red cloth for her, cast the balance in our favour! so true it is that self-interest early assumes the controul of our best and most social affections. Still, however, he appeared irresolute; and new reasons were constantly assigned for returning to his hut. But perceiving there would be no end to this conflict, I at last proposed to remove the canoe from the
view

view of his dwelling to the opposite extremity of the village, and he was no longer averse from accompanying us.

CHAP. V.

Description of an Indian Village—Ceremonies observed by the Chief in receiving Strangers—Customs and Pursuits of the Natives—their Courage and Generosity—farther Particulars respecting the Mississippi—Reflections upon a retired and simple Mode of Life.

THIS village might consist of sixty huts, which, like other savage habitations, are constructed of large trees planted circularly in the ground, and meeting at the top in the shape of a cone. The interstices occasioned by the round figure of the tree being filled up with leaves and branches, are plaistered over with mud, and here the family find shelter from the inclemencies of the season. In the middle of the floor is

is placed the fire, whose smoke makes it escape either by the door, or an aperture at the junction of the trees in the top of the hut. Round the area stands a kind of bench formed by short portions of trees placed contiguously to each other: it is covered with a mat of reeds, and serves for a bed.

At the distance of three or four paces from the mansion of the chief is a second open hut or gallery, where he enjoys the fresh air, and is sheltered from the heat of the sun. This last is thatched over with leaves, commonly supported by six pillars, and is the hall of the assembly of the tribe. Here the chiefs show their hospitality to strangers, and relax from their cares and fatigues, either by sleeping, or smoking their tomahawks. This piece of native armour is a species of battle-ax, the handle of which is usually perforated, and serves as a tube to an iron pipe-head fixed on the back of the instrument.

As soon as a stranger is seen to approach the village, his arrival is announced by a scream from the savages who first happen to perceive him. The chief and principal men

of the tribe immediately assemble, each sitting before his own hut, and send him a deputation of one of their number. We commonly made him a present, consisting of a bottle of liquor, and were sure to receive an ample recompence in fruit, fish, and fowls. We were next invited to assist in smoking tobacco, mixed with a certain red leaf, which in its shape resembles that of the peach-tree. In short, I was much better received as a stranger by those savages than I had been by any European I had met with since the commencement of my travels.

The men of this nation are tall and well-proportioned, have large full features, without, however, any thing disgustingly coarse in their expression. They pay much deference and respect to old age, marry early, and, without being addicted to jealousy, are extremely affectionate to their wives. Divorce, though permitted, very rarely occurs. The chastity observable in savage nations may be owing, among other causes, to the little intercourse that prevails between the sexes. War, hunting, and fishing, are the constant occupations of the men: while the
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cultivation of the fields, which consists chiefly in rearing peach-trees, sowing a little Indian corn, gourds, and melons; cooking fish and game; and in transporting their baggage, in case of a distant expedition, are those of the women. In the fine season they wear the skin of a roe-buck tied round the waist, and in winter wrap themselves in an European blanket, or in the skin of the buffalo. This animal has much resemblance to the ox, with the difference of a bunch or swelling on his back, like that of the same species in the East Indies. The natives have the art of tanning his hide without stripping off the hair, which, though fine like silk, has the spongy quality of wool, and affords an excellent defence against the cold. I was surprised at observing the apparently careless manner in which a mother is accustomed to nurse her infant. Instead of a cradle, she uses a kind of frame, in which the child is made fast; but as the upper part of this machine is lower than the shoulders, his head is left to hang in a very awkward position; and, except occasionally offering the breast, she seems to give herself

no farther concern about him. In cases of surgical complaints they have recourse to plants, particularly to the leaf of the squine, which they have found to have much efficacy in curing wounds: as to a knowledge in the medical art, they have but small pretensions; abstinence in eating, and drinking water, being esteemed excellent remedies for diseases of every kind.

The natives of these parts are laborious, humane, and a brave race of men. Peace and good order seem equally established in their families and villages. Their regular performance of the reciprocal duties of life, of the young towards the aged, of the father towards his children, of the husband towards his wife; their courtesy to strangers, and the little apprehension they entertain of their enemies, gave me a high opinion of their generosity and courage. In the course of different wars, the French as well as the Spaniards have experienced their valour in the field. This nation was just returned from an expedition against the English, whom they seem to consider as very restless and troublesome neighbours. In their extensive

tensive peregrinations during the hunting-season they encounter perils and hardships which appear almost incredible to the effeminate European. Neither the impetuous current of their rivers, nor the savage asperity of a wild and uncultivated soil, can resist their unabating ardour for the chace.

We came up with two islands, which forming three channels, occasion much inconvenience to the navigation of the river. But the majestic grandeur of the Mississippi never for a moment escaped my attention ; which, continuing nearly of the same magnitude at this great height, may be properly classed with the largest and most beautiful rivers in the universe. Nay, after having ascended to the vast distance of eight hundred leagues from the sea, the change in its dimensions is still so little, that it is impossible for the traveller thence to suppose that he is approaching its sources. The water of the Mississippi is the sweetest and most palatable I ever tasted ; and its lofty banks are fringed with trees, especially cypresses, of a prodigious height. The principal rivers which fall into its channel, are

the Red and Black, the Missuri and Fair Rivers. It communicates with various lakes besides those bordering on Canada, whither it is practicable to ascend in a canoe with little interruption. Our difficulties in contending with the force of the stream were always great; but at times happening to fall into the direction of a current particularly strong, we have been kept half an hour tugging at the oar without advancing a couple of yards. In order to prevent the canoe's going adrift, as well as to supply the place of our young savage, whose health had been impaired by change of diet, I was frequently under the necessity of performing the duty of a rower; but my labour was amply rewarded by the grandeur of the scene every where presented to the eye. Here the canoe grazed along large tracts of sand and gravel, on which lay extended trees of enormous size, whose dusky and mouldering appearance shewed their deposition by the current to be an event of high antiquity. These were succeeded by a low and marshy beach, where the crocodile or alligator crept sluggishly among the reeds,

reeds, an animal equally offensive to the sight and smell. Rising still on the ample bosom of the Mississippi, at least half a mile in breadth, we were presented on each side with smooth banks and stately cypresses, garnished in the luxuriance of the *liane*, a plant, which after twisting round them to a vast height, falls dangling to the ground. By means of small openings the eye might pierce into a thick wood, and perceive, under a perpetual shade, spaces of meadow or morass, or the soil strewn with the massy ruins of the venerable oak. Trees which, judging by their colour and bark, one would have deemed fresh and sound in their substance, crumbled into dust the moment they were submitted to the touch. We now rowed under its more elevated banks, where the soil tumbling into the river, discovers to the view enormous roots, which announce the sudden and approaching fall of their impending trunks. Lastly, the banks undermined by the current, and yielding to the incumbent weight, shoot with all their trees into the river, occasioning an awful noise, which is often heard at a great distance.

tance. In the progress of this curious navigation I was fortunate enough, though at a league's distance, to hear two of those dismal convulsions. The crash, augmented and continued by echoes, propagated in that vast forest which extends all along the borders of the Mississippi, excited dreary but solemn emotions in my mind.

In our slow but persevering ascent against the current, we passed from time to time the houses and dairies of English as well as French families, who had relinquished the strife and bustle of the world, for the quiet retirement of the woods. I am satisfied that this propensity, however strange it may seem, is not peculiar to recluse individuals, but is in common to a great proportion of mankind; for I have seen many who had voluntarily withdrawn from the restraints of civilized life, and embraced, with the freedom, the habits and pursuits of the Indian; but I have never met with one savage who had shewn a similar predilection for our customs and manners: the fact seems to be, that his union with society is in all instances the effect of education.

tion. Having been allured from the desert to share in the comforts of a cultivated soil, he soon finds that his necessities are more easily as well as more certainly supplied; and acquiring wants, which till then he was wholly unacquainted with, he is gradually corrupted from the manly and laborious pursuits of his former life.

CHAP. VI.

Confluence of the Mississippi and Red Rivers,—which, as well as the Countries that border on them, afford a remarkable Contrast—Passage over three Falls—the Difficulties of the Navigation increase—the Author arrives at an Indian Settlement called Nachitoches, which he describes.

WE had ascended from the entrances of the Mississippi fourscore leagues, almost due north, when we at length arrived at the confluence of Red River; and,

as it descends from the west, and passes in the neighbourhood of Nachitoches, we were here obliged to bid adieu to those noble and interesting scenes. We now, therefore, steered into water of a dirty and reddish colour, which in taste, as well as appearance, was greatly inferior to what we had been lately accustomed. A mean lazy stream, creeping silently along a low slimy beach, was naturally contrasted with the bold and rapid currents of the Mississippi. Dwarfish woods, compared with the stately forests we had just left behind us, and a soil chilled and impoverished by the winter floods, which remain several months on the adjacent grounds, exhibited all the energies of nature in a tamer mood. Here the roebuck feeds quietly in the meadows, and a flock of wild turkies as large as those of Europe crossed the river almost directly over our heads. We passed the *Acor de Mur*, an eminence so named from its rising to a peak in the middle of a circumjacent plain; and being, by reason of the annual floods, the only habitable spot in those regions, may be regarded as the key to Red River. Rowing across
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the mouth of Black River, which descends from the north-west, the country became higher, and our prospects more lively and interesting. We saw several bears, and I was told the banks were infested by a species of tiger. On this part of Red River I made a visit to an old French officer, who had retired to the solitude of those woods with his wife and a few negro slaves, where he cultivates a piece of ground, and takes care of his cattle.

Having now navigated Red River for several days, we came to the bottom of a fall, about eight feet high, in the vicinity of which are a number of French families, who intermarry with the savages. We found it necessary to unload, and hired a Frenchman to pilot the canoe, which, with the assistance of savages from the adjacent country, we proposed to pull up a declivity formed by the friction of the water on the bed of the river. The pilot remained in the boat, while we, taking our stations at two ropes on the top of the fall, hauled it towards us in the direction my countryman thought proper to give it. We then re-loaded our canoe,
and

and continued our navigation ; but had scarcely proceeded two leagues when we met with a similar interruption, and were obliged to repeat the same vexatious task. We were now only twenty leagues from Nachitoches, but the most difficult part of our expedition was still before us. Two of our rowers had fallen sick, and we were all under the necessity, without distinction, of tugging at the oar ; a toil the most cruelly severe I had ever experienced. This, however, was not our only hardship, for, as we reposed during the night on a moist and muddy bank, a prey to vermin, and within the reach of the alligator, it cannot be supposed that our sleep was of a nature to afford us much refreshment. The alligator is so extremely familiar that he used to come on shore even in the day-time, to devour what remained of our meals. The coarse rusticity of my negro and savage companions was likewise extremely disgusting.

Three days afterwards we were stopped at the bottom of a third fall, above which we met with a large sheet of water, very properly named Muddy Lake. Our pilot, who

who had accompanied us from the first fall, conducted us over it. Here the river, it would seem, had once a different course from the present, for it disperses and loses itself with little current over a space of about three leagues in circumference. We had seldom more than half a foot water, on a bottom of deep mud, full of roots and stumps of trees, which appear wasting with the lapse of time on the surface of the lake. In order to facilitate our progress, we got into the water, and pushed the canoe before us; but in spite of every effort, she struck incessantly against some trunk or root, upon which, at times, she remained suspended, as on an axis. These were very embarrassing situations; from which, after a severe struggle to disengage her, scarcely one of us could retire without wounds in his legs and thighs, occasioned by stumps and shells concealed under the water.

Having at last, however, surmounted the difficulties of Muddy Lake, we plied our oars with great diligence till we arrived at a current which, owing to a slope in the ground,

ground, and various obstructions in the bed of the river, was particularly rapid. Our former embarrassments had been attended with much labour and difficulty, but this presented imminent danger to our lives; for had the canoe deviated in the smallest degree from the direct line of the stream, we must inevitably have gone to the bottom. Happily we escaped without the slightest misfortune, and in two days afterwards, viz. on the second of September, we came to what is regarded as the principal obstruction to the navigation of Red River; an obstruction occasioned by the river's making a sweep across a vast mass of trees and branches, accumulated in process of time by the drift of the current. We began to consider whether it might not be practicable to open to ourselves a passage with the axe; but as I soon perceived this, at any rate, must be a very tedious operation, and as we were now only a short league from Nachitoches, I determined to travel the remainder of the way by land. In this neighbourhood dwells a female Creole, married to a native, in whose
house

house we dined, and by whom we were received with much hospitality.

The woods begin to be frequented by hunters, and the keepers of cattle ; woods which, being gradually cleared, according to the exigencies of the inhabitants, have, in some degree, the open appearance of our own, and gave notice of our being now on the confines of an European settlement. We came to an extensive meadow, interspersed with small plantations of tobacco and Indian corn ; and here I could perceive on an eminence before us a square area, inclosed with large pallisadoes standing close to each other, and driven into the ground. This I learned served as a fort to the settlement ; beyond which, and at some distance, stood a number of little wooden houses, in a strait line, but at large intervals from one another. They might amount, with a few others which appeared scattered over the country, to the number of seventy, and constituted the whole French settlement on this part of Red River. The village and fort command an extensive prospect on the opposite side of the river ; a prospect presenting a large

large meadow bounded on all sides by woods, and plentifully stocked with cows and horses.

I lived here with the proprietor of the canoe, but was miserably accommodated, both in board and lodging. The house was small, and dirty in the extreme; and our bread, made of rice mixed with Indian corn, was of the worst quality. In spite of all its inconveniences, I would have preferred to my present situation my former lodging on the banks of Red River, and the bread of New Orleans, though it too had been much spoiled since our quitting the Mississippi. It is difficult for the reader to imagine how much the air on Red River is contaminated by the horrid stench which arises from the urine and excrement of the alligator. Our biscuit was so impregnated with this abominable effluvia, that it had acquired the nauseous taste of rotten musk; but I supported my spirits under all these hardships with the prospect of making only a short stay in this country.

The settlement of Nachitoches is computed to be a hundred and forty leagues
N. W.

N. W. from New Orleans; it is of small extent, but tolerably populous; and the inhabitants, like those of Louisiana, are lively, well-formed in their persons, and inured to fatigue. They often ascend their rivers with their families to the distance of four or five hundred leagues, and spend on one of those painful expeditions eighteen, perhaps twenty months.

Hunting the bear is one of their favourite pursuits, but is chiefly practised in the winter season, when this animal is particularly fat, and in condition to furnish a large quantity of oil. The nature of the chase is briefly as follows: the bear generally chooses for his retreat the hollow trunk of an old cypress, which he climbs and descends into the cavity from above; meanwhile, it is the business of the hunter, who watches him on his return home, to mount by means of hooks, and seat himself on a neighbouring tree. Having a gun in one hand, and a firebrand in the other, the moment he discovers the hole he darts his torch into the trunk. Frantic with rage and terror, the bear makes a spring from his den; but the

hunter, with great dexterity, seizes the instant he leaps from the tree, and shoots him through the head or shoulder. The animal drops on the ground, and dies under the repeated wounds he receives from his enemy.

At Nachitoches I was anxious for intelligence respecting the first Spanish settlement; and learned with pleasure that it was about seven leagues distant, is the residence of the governor of Tegas, and is named Adaés or Adaiffes.

CHAP.

C H A P. VII

The Author quits Nachitoches, and arrives at Adaés, a Spanish Settlement, where he is near perishing with Hunger—Description of the Settlement—Particulars relative to the half-savage Spaniards, its Inhabitants—their Dress—Character—Occupations—military Equipments—the singular Mode in which they are accoutred and mounted for the public Service.

HAVING spent only three days at this post, I prepared to set out for Adaés, and with this view hired one of the inhabitants for a guide, who was more dismal in his aspect, and brutal in his manners, than any Esquimaux savage of the North. He was likewise covered with rags, and in every respect gave me a most unfavourable idea of the Creoles in general of the same nation. I also hired from him a horse to transport my baggage, which, for my greater convenience in travelling, I packed up in three bear skins: one of these I intended for my bed; another

was to serve me as a covering to an occasional tent; and the third was meant to defend my baggage from the rain in those uninhabited regions through which I proposed to pass.

We quitted Nachitoches in the evening, and pursued our journey the whole night. About the middle of the route we were considerably fatigued, and having stopped for a few minutes, my guide regaled me with an ounce of bad bread made of Indian corn. As the path was little trodden, lay over an uneven surface, was much obscured by the woods, and frequently obstructed with large trees which the unsparing ravages of time had thrown in our way, we had infinite difficulty to keep from wandering. It often happened, though I led my horse by the bridle, owing to the crooked path we were obliged to pursue, that we stopped short completely bewildered. About three o'clock in the morning, however, we arrived at the hut of a baptized Indian, who took us kindly under his roof.

Our host being apprehensive that my goods might be deemed contraband by the Spaniards,

ards, was at pains to conceal them, but restored them to me honestly afterwards. I went to sleep in a corner of his house, which, by the bye, scarcely deserved that name, for the roof was only supported by a sort of paling, the greatest part of which had fallen to the ground from negligence and length of time. As soon as it was morning, the family, who had slept in a bed close by the side of mine, saluted me, and began to prepare breakfast. From our fare, however, it was but too plain that this baptized Indian was far from being in good circumstances; and, therefore, I gave him his choice of money or linen, in order to buy us provisions. The latter he thought would be most current in their market; but after all, he could find no Indian corn till the following day, and even then a very small quantity. I became immoderately hungry, and urged him much to make farther inquiries; but he contented himself with assuring me that there was not half a bushel of Indian corn within the bounds of the settlement; and here, for the first time in my life, I experienced in an extreme degree the deplorable hardships of

real want. I began to entertain suspicions that this sad scarcity of provisions was partly at least affected, and very dismal reflections came across my mind. I determined to go into the village, and endeavour to find lodging in a family of greater industry, and in an easier situation of life; and accordingly, quitting my christian savage, I found entertainment in the house of a non-commissioned officer, who, though I cannot say he kept a plentiful table, was always provided with a kind of meal for his family. I suffered, however, more than once, the severe pinchings of hunger, even in the house of my new landlord.

The settlement of Adaés consists of about forty miserable houses, constructed with stakes driven into the ground. It is situated on the declivity of a hill, the top of which, formed into a square, and inclosed with palisadoes, such as I saw at Nachitoches, serves as a kind of fortress to the village. These forts or redoubts, in the language of the country, are named *presidio*. The houses are scattered about the west side of the fort; and a little valley lying in the same quarter separates

separates the village from a considerable eminence, on which stand a church and convent of Franciscans. A few straggling trees, and a heath overgrown with briars and thickets, and bounded every where by the woods, compose the cheerless prospect of the inhabitants.

The soil is almost entirely destitute of water; which unhappy circumstance, joined to the natural indolence of the people, frequently reduces them to the want of the common necessaries of life. The chief means of their subsistence is Indian corn, which they boil, mixed with quick-lime, by which the husk is dissolved to a kind of powder, and the grain considerably softened. Having washed and bruised it on a chocolatestone, it is formed into a lump of paste, which they knead with their hands. Of this dough they make a sort of cake, which is toasted on a plate of iron laid over the fire. This bread is the native food of the people in New Spain; and, indeed, when these thin cakes, or rather wafers, named by the Spaniards *tortillas*, are well baked, they are far from being unpleasant.

The inhabitants of Adaés, consisting of a species of cavalry, live by an appointment of nearly a piafter a day ; but whether it be owing to the extraordinary expence they incur by importing their cloathing from Mexico, or rather, perhaps, their idle and sluggish dispositions, which oblige them to have even their daily bread from a distance, the pay of Spain is scarcely equal to a bare subsistence. The intervals of public service are employed in play, of which they are particularly fond ; in relating their exploits in battle, the perils and hardships they have encountered in wild and inhospitable regions ; and on horseback, in visiting, and taming their cattle. Their bodies are strong and muscular, though sadly broken by severe campaigns against the savages, whom they name, probably in derision, *Mecos* ; or by the no less ruinous consequences of their youthful debaucheries. They are, in general, obliging, humane, compassionate, and brave :—eminently distinguished in the exercise of hospitality, they are known to share, under the immediate pressure of hunger, their last morsel of bread with the first stranger

stranger who happens to come under their roof. But, on the other hand, they are extremely proud; and, probably owing in a great measure to necessity, little addicted either to truth or honesty.

Stealing I have observed is common to almost all savage nations, and seems to arise from an original impulse, by which a man is prompted to gratify his wants, without waiting for the deliberate interference of his reason. This principle, besides, is much strengthened by that community of goods which every individual is ready to exercise against, as well as in the favour of his own interest: but this description of mankind have one great advantage over their more civilized brethren, namely, that it is much more easy to convince them of their ignorance, and reclaim the latter from their vices.

The half-savage Spaniards of this settlement are dressed in the most fantastic manner: a sort of under-waistcoat and breeches without a seam, but pieced together with buttons of gold and silver, and commonly ornamented with lace, stockings made of skins, and shoes whose upper-leathers are cut into
thongs,

thongs, affording free access to the dirt and dust as well as to the air, compose their ordinary apparel. A large hood and short cloak, adorned round the neck with broad stripes of gold lace, seem to be considered as a full uniform, and are only worn on horseback. But, in spite of all this finery, one often meets the Spaniard without either hat or shirt, while his sumptuous uniform, torn by the briars and thorns of the woods, hangs in a thousand tatters about his person. His heels are usually armed with a pair of enormous spurs about five or six inches in length. His armour consists in a helmet of deer skin, a carabine, and a long broad sword. Two little leathern boxes placed before the saddle serve to hold provisions for his march. The carabine rests commonly in the stock, but is used as a pillar, during night, for a kind of tent, which is reared occasionally with the Spanish hood, in order to protect him from the rain. His saddle leathers, neatly dressed, and stamped with various ornamental designs, are garnished round the edges with trinkets of steel, which, like little bells, are kept perpetually ringing
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by the motion of the horse. The rider rests his feet in a couple of stirrups at least fifty pounds in weight, composed of four massy bars of iron arranged in the form of a cross. To keep the horseman steady in his seat, and to constrain his limbs to that position, which is deemed most graceful among the Spaniards, are the chief purposes of those ponderous stirrups. This mode of riding, however, to a novice, is a pretty severe trial to his patience; for, in my short experience of these accoutrements, I contracted a swelling in my legs, and an almost entire dislocation of my joints. If the horse is strong enough not to be oppressed with their weight, I am uncertain, after all, whether they may not contribute to his ease, since they form a sort of balance below to the gravity of the rider on his back. The bits of their bridles, which are of an oblong shape, and extremely well adapted to their purpose, have a strong resemblance to those in use among the Arabs, who, as every one knows, excel in the art of horsemanship all other nations in the world. In short, the half-savage Spaniard, with

with all his singular extravagance, is an excellent rider, and, when completely equipped and mounted, never failed to revive in my mind the ideas of ancient chivalry.

C H A P. VIII.

The Difficulties in encountering a Journey from Adaés to Mexico, almost unsurmountable—the Author, resolving to undertake this Journey, sets out to the Mission of Naquadoch, to join the Suite of the Governor of the Province, who is bound thither—he describes the Country he passes through—is politely received by the Governor—but is obliged to return to Adaés for a Supply of Provisions.

ACCORDING to my best information relative to the road from hence to Mexico, it is a journey of no less than five hundred and fifty leagues; and to the second Spanish settlement two hundred and fifty, by a way difficult to be found, and across
rivers,

rivers, many of which are extremely dangerous in their passage. I was assured, that though at times a small party of two or three savages will undertake and accomplish this expedition, yet, with the incumbrance of baggage, it would be deemed highly imprudent to attempt it with fewer than ten or twelve persons in company. It was, therefore, with great regret that I saw myself precluded from entering on this route, otherwise than in a kind of caravan; and here I had the prospect of remaining until I should be joined by a certain number of companions.

Learning, however, that the governor of this province, who had been recalled to Mexico in consequence of a dispute between him and his successor, was taken ill at the distance of fifty leagues, and was then actually living at the residence of a missionary, in a place called Naquadoch, I resolved to join him, and wait till the recovery of his health should enable him to continue his journey. In this view I purchased a horse, and agreed to have my effects transported by mules belonging to soldiers in the governor's

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suite,

suíte, who having come hither in quest of provisions, were now about to return. The guide I engaged at this place was a very civil, but at bottom a very roguish Mexican : he was smooth and obliging in his deportment ; but before we parted, I had too much reason to believe that his own interest, in contempt of common honesty, was the ruling principle of his conduct. As soon as we had fairly entered the woods, he took care to loose my baggage-mule, in order that under the colour of finding him, he might have time, in my absence, to steal a parcel of my linen, which he concealed among the bushes.

The face of this country is agreeably diversified with little hilly ridges, which terminate the view over widely-extended plains ; whilst the vallies are interspersed with meadows, which, probably under water during winter, are covered in the fine season with a species of grass of a surprising height. The humid parts of the high grounds abound in timber of different kinds ; but the more dry and sterile produce pines only, though of a wonderful size. I was astonished to observe
a vast

a vast number of these trees lying on the ground, whose bases, in appearance powdered over with soot or coal dust, conveyed the notion of their roots having been consumed by fire. The same symptoms were visible in many which were still standing; and from every indication it would appear, that the pine, becoming black at the root, dissolves into dust, whilst the trunk gradually loses its balance, and at last falls to the ground. I cannot refer this mortality of the firs to putrefaction, since the soil and climate, as well as the substance of the tree, are extremely dry; but am rather of opinion, that suffering a discharge of the vegetable juices, they actually bleed to death. In our progress through this country we frequently met with a species of roe-buck, and a meagre race of wolves, or wild dogs, whose barking, however, is very different from that of the same species of animal in Europe.

Though I am persuaded I gave every one in my service a handsome compensation for his trouble, considering the scarcity of money in those parts, yet a kind of idle bashfulness

ness induced me to share in all the toils and hardships of my fellow travellers. I had been accustomed, since my departure from New Orleans, to sleep in the open air; but the nights becoming cold, while the days comparatively were extremely hot, I caught a fever thirty leagues from Adaés, which continued all the way to Naquadoch. At every return of my disorder a giddiness nearly depriving me of the use of my bodily faculties, Providence alone preserved me twenty times from breaking my neck, in falling from my horse, or running against the branches of trees which project over the path. On these occasions reflection was the only sense I retained, and I knew we were under the necessity of reaching a certain rivulet in the evening, in order to find water and pasture for our cattle. We arrived at Naquadoch, and after a little repose I recovered my health, and was restored to my usual strength and spirits. We had already passed a mission, named *Aïsses*, and that, with Naquadoch, are the only habitations on this route. There are in their vicinity several

veral savage villages, which are seldom long at peace with the Spaniards.

Upon my arrival, the old governor, whom I have mentioned, received me civilly; but there being a scarcity of provisions in the mission, as well as among the neighbouring savages, and my proposed journey being two hundred leagues, through a very wild and uncultivated country, I found myself under the necessity of returning to Adaés, in order to provide for my future subsistence.

I used every means to find a companion or a guide, but in vain; and was at last obliged to depart alone. I travelled till the fall of night, when, laying myself down on my bear-skins, with my mule tied to a tree, grazing by my side, I began to meditate on my present singular situation. I was alone, surrounded with darkness, in the midst of woods of unknown extent, and a prey to the first monster or savage of the desert. Often, during this short journey of fifty leagues, had I reason to commit myself to the great Author of my being, and in many instances to admire the visible exercise of his paternal care. I might now be said to lead the life

of a savage ; for my provisions, the best indeed for the purpose of travelling, consisted in a piece of flesh dried in the sun, and a small quantity of ground Indian corn, named by the Spaniards *pynolé*. This corn, when mixed with water, swells to a great bulk, insomuch that a single handful of it suffices amply for one repast. The day after my departure from Naquadoch, I found myself all of a sudden in circumstances of imminent danger : I had begun my march before day, and having the misfortune to lose myself in the woods, I wandered into a beaten path, which led directly to a savage village ; happily, however, I recognized it through the trees by the round and conical form of their huts ; and, in all probability, I owed my escape to Providence, and the obscurity of the morning ; for had the savages chanced to be awake, presuming, under the first impulse of surprize, that I came as a spy or robber, they would undoubtedly have fired upon me.

The same day I observed a party of natives before me, when that involuntary fear of them entertained by Europeans, which I had
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not been yet able to overcome, prompted me to skulk from the path, with a view to dine, as well as to avoid their company. The moment, however, I alighted from my mule, I was accosted by a couple of their women, who requested I would supply them with some Indian corn, and I very readily shared with them what little I had. But the reader may guess my surprize, when some time after they returned to testify their gratitude, by making me a present of cakes made of wild fruit. I afterwards fell in with men of the same village, from whom I received much kindness; they were at great pains to put me in the best path, and to instruct me what stages were most convenient for feeding my mule, as well as for my own accommodation.

At night, having again tied my mule to the stump of a tree, where the grass was particularly fine, I stretched myself on my bear-skins, and went to sleep. About midnight, however, I awaked, as usual, in order to remove him to new pasture, but, to my great mortification, he was gone. What a dismal prospect now opened to my mind! I

had lost my mule, was in the midst of an immense forest, without provisions, and without arms either to procure subsistence, or to defend my life against an enemy. I cast a melancholy look at my bear-skins and saddle, which served me for a bed and pillow ; and under the terror of losing myself in the woods, almost trembled at the thoughts of venturing forth in search of my companion. Necessity, however, at last prevailed over my fears ; and collecting all my courage and presence of mind, after conjecturing from the moon's situation the direction of the path, I rushed into the woods. Luckily I found my mule in the space of half an hour, grazing on the sloping bank of a rivulet, which afforded him good pasture ; but by what means he was to be caught I knew not, and this excited new cause of disquietude. I can say truly, that here, as in other trying situations, my temper never forsook me ; and after various fruitless efforts, I at length got hold of him. In this painful interval of suspense, I had embraced the resolution, rather than return to Naquadoch, to continue my journey on foot, or to
address

address myself to the humanity of the savages, who are enemies to the Spaniards, and in the course of their hostilities are used to ramble all over those parts. By subsequent experience, however, of the great difficulties which occur in this route, I was convinced that my idea was impracticable, since no savage who is an entire stranger in the country is bold enough to attempt it. I at last accomplished my journey; and having bought provisions for my proposed route, again turned my face towards the mission of Naquadoch.

CHAP. IX.

Sagacity of the Author's Mule in crossing a River—Trait of Generosity in the Savage Inhabitants of Naquadoch—the Reflections which arise from it—Considerations on human Nature in its simple and unrefined State.

ABOUT noon, on the first day of my return, accident or the sagacity of my mule conducted me with more discretion than I could have done myself. Having arrived on the banks of a little river, which, the first time I passed this way, I had crossed at a ford, it was considerably swollen by the late rains; but having been desirous to observe whether certain stones on the verge of the river appeared above water, for my direction, and, thinking I saw them, I entered boldly into the channel. Before, however, I had got half way over, my mule, though urged to go on by all the means in my power, refused to obey, and at last becoming furious, reared and bounced, hurrying

ing me backward to the shore. I gave way to the obstinacy of his nature, but without knowing by what expedient I might extricate myself from my present danger. Having no alternative, and reflecting that I might possibly have mistaken the passage, I led him back to the path, and laying the bridle on his neck, gave him the spur, and left him to take his own course. I soon had reason to be satisfied with my conduct; for he instantly quitted the tract in a new direction, and passed the river with ease and safety to us both.

In a little time afterwards I alighted to take some refreshment, and observing something at a distance which engaged my attention, I tied my mule to a tree, and left him; but was greatly surprised on my return to find him rearing and foaming, and to all appearance in a state of phrenzy. His rage, however, was not long a matter of wonder; for I found the poor animal cruelly infested with a vast swarm of bees, which darkened the air over his head. I made haste to cover my face and hands from their violence, and cutting his halter, pulled him

after me at full speed. The bees arose in amazing multitudes, but being unable to keep pace with us, we soon escaped from their molestation. I hoped to assuage the pain occasioned to my mule by the stings of these insects, by bathing him in the river; but this remedy not answering my expectation, I thought that a plentiful perspiration, produced by hard riding, might have more effect, and therefore continued my journey to a later hour than usual.

The governor being much recovered from his late indisposition, began to think of resuming his march; on this account, with the assistance of the father missionary, I purchased a couple of mules for my approaching travels.

Here I met with an instance of generosity in savages, which, for the sake of such Europeans as are apt to speak contemptuously of the uncivilized native of America, I shall take the liberty to relate. A poor man applied to our little caravan, praying that we might be pleased to afford him maintenance and a passage to the settlement of San Antonio. His petition was deemed unreasonable

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ble by the greater part of the company, and by all rejected; for although I would readily have contributed to his assistance, yet it was not convenient to render him this service alone. But I will leave the reader to judge of our astonishment, when we were afterwards informed that the savages in the neighbourhood, getting notice of the application, not only found this poor man a horse and provisions for the journey, but conducted him to the confines of that settlement.

I have had frequent opportunities to observe moral dispositions in the men we call savages, that would do honour to the most civilized European; dispositions whose influence on their conduct is only interrupted by the violence of unruly passions; but even in such situations, the first fallies of his rage having soon subsided, that equanimity of which the savage affords an eminent example resumes its ascendancy over his mind. But will it be said, that reason, depraved by education and the example of others, so often to be met with in civilized nations; or a dark and designing policy, which, in obedience

dience to sober judgement, contrives, executes, or delays the blackest villanies, ever enters into the character or conduct of the savage? No: in the school of nature he is taught to be generous, compassionate, friendly, and grateful; and if occasionally he falls into irregularities, such as theft, cruelty, or licentiousness, he has been either corrupted by his acquaintance with Europeans, or subject to a momentary fervour of blood which precipitates him into those excesses. In the province of Louisiana I observed with concern, that the French had communicated the impurities of their immoral lives to several families among this simple race of men. At Naquadoch a handsome girl, born and educated in the woods, having had the misfortune to lose her virtue, abandoned her person, I will not say to any one without distinction, but to such as were inclined to make her a trifling present. Evil communication, and frequent intercourse with foreigners, introducing a taste for luxury and convenience, have sown the first seeds of depravity among a people, who otherwise might have continued to enjoy the
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the happy innocence of their woods. The rustic simplicity of the savage restraining his desires within a narrow compass, and discouraging the company of strangers, forms the greatest security to the purity and integrity of his manners. A close attention to what passes among the other animals, which in the original movements of their nature differ little from our own species, has greatly confirmed me in the truth of this observation. Before I dismiss these short strictures on the character of the savage, I must add to the list of his unfashionable virtues a native love of justice and fair dealing: as I have often had occasion to remark, he pays his little debts with all the punctuality his good or bad fortune in hunting may permit. Chastity, lastly, seems equally natural to simple and undisciplined minds with any other virtue. One day I accidentally stumbled on a couple who had been lately married, as they lay under their bear-skins, and saw with pleasure an unaffected bashfulness in the timid bride, beautifully contrasted with manly confidence and security,

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untinged with jealousy or shame, on the part of her husband.

I now return to my departure from the mission of Naquadoch ; and, as it would be tedious to relate the many hardships which occur to a traveller in those wild and uncultivated regions, it would be equally endless to describe the various sensations of voluptuous delight, which, in the progress of this journey, the perception of simple nature, from the aspect of the country, as well as the manners of the people, excited in my mind.

C H A P. X.

Departure from Naquadoch, where the Author joins a Caravan for Mexico—Habits and Pursuits of the Indian Tribes interiorly situated—their dexterous and graceful Manner of riding—several Rivers with strong Currents are forded, on one of which occasions the Spaniards are obliged to construct a Raft—Description of the Province of Tegas.

I WAS now on the point of commencing an arduous and painful journey; and the agreeable prospect of continuing my travels had effaced the impressions of that extreme fatigue both of body and mind which I had experienced ever since I left New Orleans. We were soon in readiness; and accordingly, on the 2d of November, we quitted the mission of Naquadoch. With the soldiers and half-savages in the retinue of the governor, our company consisted in all of fifteen persons. We had twenty loaded mules, besides a reserve of no less than two hundred

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mules and horses. The excellent order observed by these animals, especially in passing bad roads, in which situation their discipline and instinct were most conspicuous, rendered our little caravan an entertaining spectacle.

Two days after our departure we had the misfortune to be detained in a meadow on the borders of a large rivulet, by a great fall of rain, which had rendered the soil so loose and spongy, that our horses sunk to their girths in mire. As soon as the bottom would permit, we again set forward, and passed several savage villages, called *Tegas de San Pedro*. This nation appears to be more populous than any I had hitherto met with; and in many respects different from the tribes of the Mississippi and Red River. The latter, for instance, seldom undertake an expedition but by water; whereas the Tegas, the savages of Aïffes, Adaés, and Naquadoch, living in huts from navigable rivers, have applied themselves to the rearing of horses for the purposes of conveyance. Here the savages cultivate Indian corn in greater quantities, are less addicted to hunting,
and

and draw, during winter, a considerable part of their subsistence from different kinds of wild fruits, which they gather in the woods, and knead into cakes. Blessed with the advantages of a warmer climate and more grateful soil, they receive from the unsolicited bounty of Nature a great proportion of their subsistence; and hence it probably happens that they are less accustomed to animal food than the natives of more northern regions.

We found here, that by a late edict of the new governor, the French of Naquadoch had been forbidden to interfere in the traffic of the natives, which, added to the habitually cold and disobliging conduct of the Spaniards, had prepared the savages for hostilities; and we therefore thought it expedient to make our stay short, and to have as little communication with them as possible. Such of them, however, as had lived on good terms with the late governor, chose to compliment him on his arrival; and were received and dismissed according to every rule of decency and discretion. Next day we were joined by a party of them on horse-

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back,

back, who were eager to display with much ostentation the swiftness and agility of their horses, as well as their own skill and dexterity in the art of riding; and it is but doing them justice to say, that the most noble and graceful object I have ever seen was one of those savages mounted and running full speed. His Herculean size, his gun leaning over the left arm, and his plaid or blanket floating carelessly across his naked shoulders, and streaming in the wind, formed such an appearance as I could only compare to some of the finest equestrian statues of antiquity. The more elderly among them, of a less violent and impetuous character, rode quietly in our company, with their wives or daughters behind them. The women behaved with the greatest decency, and studied to avoid our too inquisitive regards by sitting closer to their conductors. It was their intention, I presume, in this manner to pay their respects to their former governor; but I could guess, by the shortness of their visits, that they were by no means flattered with our attention to their ladies.

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In eight days more we arrived at Trinity River, which, though it runs with a strong current, and is at least two gun-shots in breadth, we were able to ford with little inconvenience. We used the precaution, however, to pass in two columns, having our beasts of burthen in the middle, and a division of our horsemen on each side; that while *this* broke the force of the current, *that* might sustain the weak in the centre, and enable them to resist the pressure of the stream. When the caravan was about to descend into the bed of the river, it was curious to observe with what instinct the mules let themselves slide down on their hinder legs, and by this means preserved their balance, and consulted the safety of their burthen. We continued our route almost due west, and our savages, being well acquainted with the situation of the country, paid little regard to any beaten path: we were therefore constantly conducted by the shortest course to the precise spot we wished to arrive at.

We passed the first branch of a river named *Bras*; but finding the second impracticable

in the same manner, we halted at a part of its course, where the current shoots from one angular point to another on the opposite shore. And here we proceeded to the woods, each armed with his ax, and cutting down such trees as were most suitable to our purpose, we launched them into the river, and constructed a raft, tied together with the halters of our horses, and named by the Spaniards *balsas*. It was the business of two experienced swimmers who went before, each with a rope in his teeth, to steer the raft, while others on each side assisted its progress, and kept it steady. Our baggage having been in this manner transported, or rather shot across the stream, and our horses and mules led down to the edge of the water, a bold and powerful swimmer plunged into the river, accompanied by a savage on horseback, who, calling to the animals in a language which they understood, the whole troop instantly followed him. Meanwhile we, who stood on the opposite bank, were at much pains, by shouting and clamour, to attract their notice,

and

and to entice them to that particular spot which was found most convenient for their landing.

It is difficult to imagine the fatigues and hardships we experienced in passing the larger rivulets of this country. In order to approach them, as their deep channels are generally situated between banks of morafs, we were frequently under the necessity of either covering the quagmire with different strata of earth and faggot, or of opening ourselves a passage with the spade. Our baggage, which for the sake of a dry situation had been left considerably behind us, was then to be brought up; and in short, the same operation being equally indispensable on the other side of the rivulet, we spent several days in extricating ourselves from the embarrassment of one miserable little brook. It is difficult to determine which is the most painful and laborious undertaking, to combat the strong currents of the Mississippi, and the falls of Red River; to pursue a route lying across large rivers incumbered with rocks, sometimes shallow and sometimes of great depth;

or to travel over a deep fenny soil, intersected with numberless miry rivulets. But the strong features of natural liberty and independence embellished in my eye the horrid aspect of the soil; and the gratification I derived from the rural scenes through which we were constantly passing, was the chief but satisfactory reward of all my toils. I will not pretend to describe the impressions I received in those situations, for nothing less than a practical experience can make the reader understand the various pleasing emotions which simple and unperturbed nature is formed to create in the mind.

In the province of Tégus, and chiefly on the banks of its rivers, grow noble forests of oaks and cypresses. The eye of the traveller, passing into their vacuities, discovers in certain trees, wholly or in part fallen to decay, the large but now ruinous productions of a vigorous soil. The bald and musty tops of others shew that they owe their only support to the embraces of the liane, a plant which here length of time has almost equalled in size to what was anciently its support. The seeds of aged branches.

branches deposited in the cavities of their decayed trunks, and meeting with a fat compost of rotten leaves and twigs, shoot luxuriantly from their sides, affording the agreeable prospect of a numerous race from the wreck or ashes of the parent tree. On the confines of an adjacent meadow, nature, as if desirous to defend her hoary favourites from the ravages of time and the injuries of the weather, had woven them a grey mossy mantle, which descended in festoons from the summit of their tallest branches to the surface of the ground; a substance named by the French *Barbe d'Espagnole*.

If our prospects were obstructed in the woods, they were proportionally of ample extent in the plains, and suggested the unrestrained freedom of their inhabitants. Here the roe-bucks graze in such numbers, that I mistook them at a distance for a company of our horses broken loose from their keepers. In the absence of the little tyrant, man, a sense of security seems to actuate all the different races of animals; a fact visible in the familiarity with which plover and other of the feathered tribes

perched on the backs of our mules. Perceiving by the smoke which arose from among the trees, that we were in the vicinity of savage habitations, we attended to our march with more circumspection.

The Spaniards, who conduct themselves towards the natives with a severity very different from the gentle policy of the French, have obliged them to retire farther towards the north; a treatment which has rendered them extremely inimical to the Spanish interest in those parts.

C H A P. XI.

Method of hunting the wild Bull, upon the Flesh of which the Company regale themselves—an Attempt made by the Savages to steal the Horses belonging to the Caravans—Arrival at the River Guadaloupe, which is passed on Rafts—the Caravan halts at San Antonio, a Spanish Settlement—Warsfare between the Spaniards and Savage Natives, whose Population is here very considerable—their Mode of fighting is conducted with great Skill.

IN the short intervals of our repose, the country, since we quitted Red River, afforded us excellent sport in hunting the roebucks and wild turkies; and in the course of our march we shot several bears, whose flesh we found good and palatable.

We met with a small chesnut, and a species of nut which I was entirely unacquainted with: in the external coat it bears resemblance to the nutmeg, but the kernel is equal in sweetness to that of any nut I ever tasted in Europe. I saw many plants of the vine in its natural and uncultivated state; but the

fruit in greatest plenty is the common chestnut, and a kind of wild medlar. We took care to lay in a large provision of onions, in which this country most particularly abounds.

We now observed the traces of horned cattle, which were originally tame, but having long since become wild, roam in large herds all over the plains. The flour of the Indian corn, made according to the country fashion into a kind of gruel, as well as the entire grain roasted or boiled, I had always found a very dry and insipid diet; but now a morsel of flesh taken from one of these animals afforded me a most delicious and succulent repast.

Hunting the wild bull, common to this country, begins with a sort of festivity, and ends in an entertainment, in which one of their carcases supplies the only ingredient. As soon as a herd of cattle was seen on the plain, the most fleet and active of our cavalry prepared to attack them, and, descending in the form of a crescent, hunted them in all directions. By-and-by, becoming jaded with fatigue, they were ready to
sink

sink down under the whip, but the hunters still urging them to flight by their loud cries, drove them at last, mingled with the horses, from the field. Such as were unable to escape were slaughtered on the spot; when their pursuers, having supplied themselves with as much of their flesh as was deemed sufficient, abandoned the rest to the wolves.

But though I preferred animal food to Indian corn, I derived little more benefit from the one than from the other; for my stomach having been weakened and fatigued by my new mode of living, was not in condition to digest either. I had been accustomed to eat them separately, reserving the Indian corn for my subsistence when it might not be in my power to have any other food; perhaps, however, I might have done better, had I taken them together; but I had already suffered so cruelly from hunger, that my concern for futurity often prevented me from yielding to the demands of present appetite. I experienced the truth of what is usually said of hunters who live entirely on animal food, but which I used to find it difficult to believe, namely, that besides
their

their deriving little nourishment from the leaner part, it soon becomes offensive to the taste, whereas the fat is both more nutritive, and continues to be agreeable to the palate.

We crossed Red River or Colorado, which in breadth and current is much more considerable than either of the other two of the same name. We were now in a country excellently supplied with beef and venison, which were therefore the chief articles of our subsistence. This country, perhaps one of the most beautiful in the world, consists of extensive plains intersected with rivers and rivulets, on whose banks grow tufts of wood, containing various aromatic plants, little known in Europe. We arrived at a deep brook, very properly named *Quitto Calçones*, and in French, *Quitte tes Culottes*, which we passed on rafts. But whilst we were engaged in this operation there appeared a small party of Indians. It was now dark, and our company being separated by the muddy bed of the rivulet, were prevented from uniting for the common defence. The savages proceeded directly towards our horses, which

which were feeding in the meadow, confident that in our present circumstances they should have it in their power to drive them quietly off the field. They had been observed, however, by a party of our men, who, aware of their intention, ran instantly to oppose them; and here our vigilance, combined with their want of numbers, disappointed them of their booty.

We arrived at the river Guadaloupe, the last of any consequence on the road to San Antonio; and here the same tedious and irksome method of passing on rafts was repeated. In four days more we came to plantations of Indian corn, from the appearance of which I could easily perceive that the inhabitants of this settlement are not so miserably idle as those at Adaés. The crops are large and beautiful, and interspersed with meadow ground, upon which are reared herds and flocks of almost every denomination. We began to observe the Barbary fig-tree and a species of wild myrtle; and I was shewn a root resembling the turnip, a thin slice of which acts as physic, but I was told its operation is counteracted by taking a small

small quantity of ground Indian corn. Our animals, as well as ourselves, were now greatly fatigued, and therefore it was thought expedient to make a short rest. I bought a third mule, and we found ourselves under the necessity of appointing a guard to both mules and horses.

The reader is possibly surpris'd to find us attended by so numerous a train of animals ; but if he considers the difficulties of our march, the wild and rugged surface of the country, and the occasion we had for a fresh supply of horses every day, he will easily perceive the propriety of our conduct. In short, on the last day of November, we arrived in safety at the settlement of San Antonio.

At this post, the second in the same direction belonging to the Spaniards, I met with the new governor of the province, whom I had just seen at Adaés. I found he had taken a northern road, the rivers of which, though practicable on horseback, are yet never to be attempted with the incumbrance of loaded mules. In the countries bordering on those rivers reside the savage tribes
named

named Tegas and Apaches, the last of which entertain an implacable enmity to the Spaniards. The Apaches, after driving them from a settlement in those parts, called *San Xavier*, were repelled in their turn, and obliged to seek habitations in more northern regions. Although the population of savage nations is not expected to be very considerable, yet, from the province of Louisiana to San Pedro, we passed their villages at intervals of twenty-five and thirty leagues, and sometimes at a shorter distance. But the vast country situated on this side of the San Pedro villages, and which stretches all the way to Rio Grande, is totally destitute of inhabitants. It is true, those regions are still frequented by savages; but they have no other object in view than to make war upon the Spaniards, to drive off their cattle, to hunt the buffalo, and to gather *plaquemines* and chestnuts, with which they retire to their villages in the north. Owing to their very frequent incursions, however, they have been improperly represented as wandering tribes.

Whilst

Whilst I remained at this settlement, the savages through whose boundaries we had passed at San Pedro, incensed against the governor on account of his prohibition of their trade with the French of Naquadoch, made an irruption into the country, and carried off four hundred horses from San Antonio. The alarm being given, the garrison beat to arms, and, mounting their horses, made a pursuit of a hundred leagues, without being able to come up with the enemy. The Spaniards were on their return home, and had reached the river Guadaloupe, when another party of the same nation rushed from the woods, and kept up a smart fire upon them. The garrison, after making a vigorous resistance for the space of three hours, at last yielded to superior numbers, and lost on this occasion, besides other property, a hundred and fifty horses. A few days after the garrison was insulted again by a detachment of the same tribe ; and the governor began to see the necessity of putting the fort in a better state of defence. I offered my services to the garrison, and we prepared to maintain our post with courage and resolution ;

tion ; but the whole affair ended at last in a pitiful skirmish.

The manner of fighting practised by the savages gave me no mean idea of their military talents. I remarked, that when they first meant to attack us at Quitto Calçones, they acted on the presumption that our force being divided by a difficult rivulet, might probably yield them an uncontested victory ; and indeed I have no doubt, that had they been either a little more alert in their movements, or powerful in numbers, they must have succeeded in their design. Their action with the Spaniards, as I was told, at the passage of Guadaloupe, happened in similar circumstances, and was conducted on their part with the same policy. It is usual, it seems, with the Spaniards on a march to cross rivers in two divisions, one escorting the governor, and the other covering the rear. Now the moment the governor and his detachment entered the river, the enemy, who lay in ambush near the path, rose and attacked. The instant they discharged their pieces, they retreated into the plain,

plain, and were covered by their cavalry, who, upon a signal, sprung from their thickets, and advanced at full speed to fall upon the Spaniards. In this manner the engagement was maintained for some time, the foot marching up to a certain distance, in order to fire upon the enemy, while the cavalry in their turn, proceeding to the charge, covered the infantry in their retreat, and gave them time to re-load. The inferiority in numbers of the Spaniards, and their too great eagerness to give assistance to their friends, inducing them to weaken the rear, the savages profited of their confusion, and throwing themselves between the main body and the baggage, they remained masters of the field, and a great number of horses.

The precaution employed by the savages to prevent their being taken in flight, seems in a particular manner to merit notice. In contemplation of flight they strip themselves naked, and anointing their bodies with oil, frequently elude the hands of their pursuers; a practice exactly similar

lar to that which was in use among the wrestlers of antiquity. Upon the whole, however, I do not consider savage nations as steady or greatly to be depended upon in the practice of war. Like all other raw militia, the vivacity of their first attack soon evaporates, and they must in general give way to the more obstinate and persevering bravery of European regulars. But after all, I was far from being dissatisfied that they declined the siege of Fort San Antonio, being convinced in my own mind that we were not in a condition to hold out against a first vigorous assault.

C H A P. XII.

Description of Fort San Antonio—the Situation of New Mexico has been mistaken by Geographers—the Spanish Settlements in North America not so formidable as they have been supposed—Keeness and Sagacity of the Indians—their Mode of catching wild Animals—their Hospitality and good Faith—Cruelties practised on them by the Spaniards..

FORT San Antonio stands in a plain of an oblong form, one side of which fronts an angle of a small river in its vicinity. The different avenues leading to the settlement are defended by large pallisadoes, while the houses built upon its circumference serve the purpose of walls: but being of very considerable extent, and many of the houses being in ruins, it is but weakly fortified, and has much occasion for a stronger garrison. It is besides much incumbered from without by some miserable villages, which give encouragement to the incursions
of

of the enemy. The space, too, inclosed by the angle of the river is crowded by a multitude of huts, which are occupied by a number of emigrants from the Canary Isles. In other respects the settlement is pleasantly situated, on a small peninsula sloping gently towards the river; and commands an agreeable prospect over the opposite grounds. The object of greatest surprize in this part of the world is the immense swarms of cranes which frequent the banks of the rivers. The houses of the settlement may perhaps amount to two hundred, two thirds of which are built of stone. Upon the roof is a kind of earthen terrace, which, on account of the little rain which falls, and the temperate nature of the climate, is found abundantly lasting; and indeed, since my leaving New Orleans, I did not experience twenty days in all of rainy weather. I am told, however, that the climates of Red River, Nachitoches, and Adaés, are wet, cold, and unwholesome;* but the rains of Nachitoches and

* This is probably owing to the high woods and marshy grounds in the vicinity of those places.

Adaés never extend so far as this settlement, which stands in the middle of a plain, and is only surrounded by thick woods of the mesquite. If we except a few clumps of large trees on the banks of Guadaloupe, the noble forests of massy timber on this route totally disappear in the neighbourhood of Red River or Colorado.

This military station is the most important of four, comprehended within the bounds of this province: to wit, Adaés, at seven leagues distance from Nachitoches; Acoquillas, a hundred leagues south-west from Adaés; Labadie de Spiritu Sancto, two hundred to the west-south-west; and Fort San Antonio, two hundred and fifty leagues west and west-south-west from the same point of Adaés. West and a quarter north-west from San Antonio, there is also the station of San Saba. On the banks of that river, and at the distance of a hundred leagues from San Antonio, stands the post of Rio Grande; and nearly in the same direction, at the distance of two hundred and fifty leagues from the same point, are *Passe de Nord* and Santa Fé, in the province of New Mexico.

Mexico. It appears from this detail, that geographers lay down New Mexico on the map much farther towards the north than it actually is ; and though the circuitous path necessarily described by travellers in traversing uninhabited countries must frequently deceive them as to distance, yet I am convinced that the most northerly of the Spanish settlements in those regions lies between the 33d and 34th degree of latitude. The province of Cuvilla is at least fifty leagues more to the south than it is represented on the map ; whilst that of Sonora, which borders on California, lies south-west of Cuvilla. It is true, the Spaniards had formerly possessions farther northward ; but the turbulent temper and frequent inroads of the savages compelled them at length to give them up ; and it was not without great difficulty they were able to maintain their ground at *San Saba*, *Santa Fé*, and *Passe de Nord* ; inso-much, that the first of these stations was once ordered by the Spaniards to be evacuated and demolished. The roads leading from *Nueva Sonora* to the mines of *Serro Prietto*, being rendered almost impassable by the na-

tives, I saw a very considerable force called out in order to clear them of the molestation of the northern tribes. But how are we to reconcile these facts with the number of Spanish posts we find on the map to the northward of the settlements above mentioned? The fact seems to be, according to the best information I have been able to obtain from sensible Indians, who have travelled over the northern extremities of this kingdom, that they only exist in the imagination of certain geographers.* In this opinion I do not commit my credit with the public on my own conjectures, but on the information of men employed to carry the different articles of cloathing to the Spaniards in their most northern settlements; as well as on the veracity of several engineers in the suite of the governor, who came from New Sonora, and who had been instructed to take plans of all the posts situated within the boundaries of the northern savages.

* Perhaps this proceeds from the policy of Spain to make her dominions appear more populous in this part of the world than they really are, and consequently in the eyes of strangers more powerful.

In the settlement of San Antonio we find a Spanish colony from the Canary Isles; whilst all their other stations consist merely of soldiers, and a few Indians who have been seduced from the innocence of savage life. Their principal employment is to rear horses, mules, cows, and sheep. Their cattle, commonly allowed to roam at large in the woods, are once in two months driven into fields adjoining to the houses of their owners, where every means is used to render them tame and tractable. After having been subjected to hunger and confinement, they receive their liberty, and are succeeded by others, which experience in their turn a similar course of discipline. Such of the inhabitants as are at pains to prevent their herds from running entirely wild, possess five or six thousand head of cattle.

The inhabitants of San Antonio are excellent horsemen, and particularly fond of hunting or *lacing* their wild animals. Having entered the field, and started an animal they mean to take alive, they give him chace at full speed from wood to valley, till his fatigue enables the hunter to come

within a certain distance of him. Here the rider, holding the running noose of a strong lash or thong coiled round his arm in his right hand, throws it with such dexterity, that he seldom fails to catch the game round the neck or horns; and in the same instant, by pulling up his horse, or turning him abruptly from the line of his career, he checks his prey, and obliges him to stop. A custom very similar to this is described in Anson's Voyages, and represented by the author as peculiar to the coast of Patagonia.

They have likewise the use of tame animals, which, besides yielding milk, supply them with fat and dried flesh for their extensive peregrinations. Their horses and mules are no sooner a little broken in, than they are offered to sale; but here the market-price is so extremely low, which, indeed, may be imagined, that I have seen a good horse sold for a pair of shoes. Having but one or two keepers for all the cattle of the settlement, even their domestic animals run day and night in the woods.

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The keen eye which the habit of close and minute attention has bestowed on those people is truly surprising. Discovering in the morning that one of their cattle has disappeared in the course of the night, they examine the inclined position of the grass over which he must have passed, when they are able to distinguish by the prints of his feet whether he is a horse or mule, and whether he quitted his pasture grazing or in flight : nor do they despair of finding him before they have gone fifteen perhaps twenty leagues from home. In their wars with the savages this extreme nicety of sight is still of greater consequence ; but as each party is on its guard against the discernment of the other, and both have the same motives to conceal the direction of their flight, it is usual to set fire to the sward as they retreat, leaving three or four leagues of black desert behind them.

They are often in danger of losing themselves in the meadows, but in order to prevent this inconvenience, they are accustomed to mark particular trees, and the position of the adjacent woods, which serve to assist
their

their recollection, and answer the purpose of conducting-posts in civilized countries. In their excursions through the woods they discover the quarter of the north by observing the side of the tree which, being hidden from the solar rays, acquires a coat of greenish moss, whilst that exposed to the south retains a clean skin of a whitish colour.

In the neighbourhood of this settlement, and situated on the river, at the distance of two or three leagues from one another, are four missions, consisting of a couple of Franciscans each. In the houses of these missionaries, savages who have been taken in war, and on whom the reverend fathers have conferred marriage and baptism, receive their maintenance and education. In this manner each house entertains seven or eight men, with their wives and children, who are employed, under the direction of these monks, in certain articles of industry, the profits of which are applied to the emolument of the mission. The rules of these missions, respecting temporal affairs, are nearly the same with those observed by the Jesuits in their settlements of Paraguay; but they are ap-

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plied by the disciples of St. Ignatius in a manner much more liberal and conciliating to the minds of their savage profelytes, than they are here by the followers of St. Francis.

The savages of Tegas are the last who have taken to the use of the firelock, and who maintain any intercourse with the French. Those of Apaches, living about fifty leagues northward from San Antonio, as well as all the maritime tribes between the stations of Acoquillas and Labadie de Spiritu Sancto, still use the bow and arrow. Certain Europeans have represented the latter, named *Coumaches*, as a race of cannibals; but according to the Spaniards, who are probably better acquainted with their manners, they are merely a cruel, dastardly race of savages, who only escape the yoke of slavery, by taking refuge among the rocks, bays, and fastnesses of the sea-coast.

The Spaniards make war upon these miserable tribes, who still retain the bow and arrow, almost with impunity. In case of an engagement, the Spaniards, covering their heads with a shield, and their bodies with a
great

great coat, consisting of three or four folds of deer-skin, quilted with cotton, are in condition to set the darts of the enemy at defiance. If the savages happen to be few in number, and the Spanish cavalry think themselves certain of an easy victory, reserving their fire for situations of greater necessity, they use the thong, and lace them like wild horses. As soon as a savage has been caught in the noose, he is bound hand and foot, and carried to the residence of a missionary, who makes it his business, by threats, persuasion, severe fasting, gentleness, and last of all by marriage, to tame and civilize the manners of his prisoner, who, after being instructed in the existence of a Supreme Being, Providence, and the more peculiar doctrines of Christianity, is admitted to the rites of baptism.

The violent prejudices of the Spaniards having not only restrained them from all intercourse with the more warlike tribes, but engaged them in a system of policy most vexatious to these nations, their patience was at last exhausted, and they abandoned a vast tract of uninhabited country to the north of
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New Spain. Whether this immense territory could have been obtained by open and avowed war is doubtful; at least it must have been purchased by the Spaniards at a very great expence both of blood and treasure.

At San Antonio I lived in the family of an excellent Indian, for whom, by reason of his faithful, disinterested, and patient services, in the course of my travels from Adaés, I contracted a most sincere friendship. Having now made a considerable acquaintance among the natives, I had the satisfaction to find, that my plain and simple manners were universally popular. The good people, I could observe, were in hopes that I might be disposed to settle in this country, for my inclinations were often founded on this subject. The quantity of my baggage, which, though far from being very considerable, would have been a kind of fortune to a man of their condition, probably suggested the notion that I was extremely rich. But I am convinced, that my decent and temperate behaviour recommended me above every other consideration to their esteem, and might
have

have inclined them to approve of my falling in love with one of their daughters ; and I will add, in just praise of Indian beauty, that the persons and dispositions of individuals among them gave them every right to expect it. And, as we all ate and slept in the same apartment, no man could have fairer opportunities than myself of attending to the persons of the females, and of obtaining the affections and consent of a mistress. But, however much impressed with the excellence of those pure and gentle manners which are the result of freedom, a decent mediocrity of fortune, and the advantages of a pious education ; and however sensible I might be to the charms of their women, the amiable qualities of their minds, and the beauty and fertility of the surrounding country, the strong partialities I still retained for my native soil, were not to be subdued.

With an eye to my approaching journey I purchased a horse, three mules, and a considerable stock of provisions ; for I trembled at the thoughts of being again exposed to the calamity of hunger, the anguish of which I will candidly own I had lately experienced in

in so excessive a degree, as to absorb every other idea and sentiment in my mind, and indeed so as almost to efface the first and strongest principles of my early education.

At San Antonio, as at Adaés, money having little circulation, I chose to employ a part of my linen, which bears a higher and more convenient value with the Indians, in the payment of my debts ; besides, I wished to be sparing of what money was in my possession, knowing that the period was at no great distance when that article would resume its usual consequence. My linen, however, had been considerably diminished by the theft of a Creole native of Sartille, who stole from me a dozen of shirts, and some other necessities ; but at the same time I acknowledge, that I received from an inhabitant of San Antonio a bill of exchange upon Mexico, of twenty piaftres, as a compensation for his friend's dishonesty. I have mentioned the place of this Creole's nativity, because in the little misfortunes of my life I have always observed, that the malice of man is in direct proportion to his birth, education, and consequence in the world : innocent and ingenuous manners diminishing progressively

gressively from the native of the woods, to the villager, Indian, Creole, and Spaniard; the last of whom is the least friendly and sociable of the whole. From the savage, or half-savage Indian, I never received an injury or injustice of any kind; and therefore, in my peregrinations through their hamlets, I always chose to live with the Indian in preference to the Spaniard; a preference which, while it administered to my satisfaction, by means of the intercourse I enjoyed with men unpervverted by art and refinement, was likewise more agreeable to all my views as a traveller.

C H A P. XIII.

Departure from San Antonio—the Caravan is in Danger of being plundered by the Indians—Face of the Country the Author passes through—its Natural History—a Comet is observed—Arrival at Sartille.

HAVING made the necessary preparations for our departure, we began our journey on the 17th of December; but had scarcely proceeded to the distance of five leagues, when we were advised by a monk to be on our guard against a party of warlike savages who infested the roads, and from whom he himself had just made a very narrow escape. Our convoy having quitted us at San Antonio, we found, that in case we should have the misfortune to be attacked, we were entirely without the means of defence, and therefore it was deemed most prudent to pass some time at the house of this missionary. We sent out scouts to reconnoitre the woods, who returned to us next day; when, learning that the savages had

disappeared in those parts, we resumed our march, carefully avoiding, however, the beaten paths, lest we should fall in with them by surprize. We traversed large tracts of a short species of the mesquite, the only resemblance of woods we had met with since we passed San Antonio. These were succeeded by a number of little hills abounding in springs, by which the subjacent grounds were rendered almost impassable. Following the direction of their streams, we were conducted to a river, small, it is true, but, on account of rocks, cavities in its channel, and rapidity of current, extremely difficult of passage. Hence an extensive scene of meadows and rivulets, skirted with the mesquite, stretches to Rio Trio, a river which we passed without any inconvenience.

We met with several lakes abounding in fish and wild fowl, and arrived at *Rio de les Nuices*, which we found almost destitute of water, but whose channel, containing a deep mud, was extremely embarrassing to our march. By means, however, of different strata of earth and faggots, after much trouble and fatigue, we accomplished our passage.

Here a large extent of beautiful meadow introduced us to an open champaign country; and, after a journey of ten days, we came to Rheda, which is a small village consisting of about a dozen houses. Rheda is fourscore leagues distant from San Antonio, and stands upon a river called Rio Grande, or, as it stands upon the maps, Rio Bravo. Next to the Mississippi this is the most considerable river in those regions, and indeed bears some resemblance to it both in size and strength of current.

From Rio Grande, which we crossed in a ferry boat, the country becomes much more populous. We began to observe the tops of high mountains, which, as I had not met with one considerable hill since the commencement of my travels, had somewhat the air of novelty. The country in some places was well cultivated, and presented to the view of the traveller extensive fields of Indian corn. The atmosphere swarmed with numberless cranes; and our journey lying across a beautiful as well as plentiful country, compared with the former part of it, became extremely pleasant. We passed the rapid

currents of Salt River, which, a little higher, takes the name of *Sabinas*. Here our company was attacked by a violent flux, owing to the mineral waters of the country, which are so powerful in their operation, that even our animals were tormented with the same disorder. We passed several hot springs, which are remarkably salt and bitter to the taste, and yet such was the water we were obliged to use over the whole of this dry and inhospitable district. The low grounds abound in woods of the mesquite, or prickly currant, under which is a neat clean soil; whilst the heights are covered with thorny shrubs of a puny growth, of which there are various species curiously diversified in the shape and size of the prickles. In one it resembles a dart; in another a saw; in a third a harpoon; and all of them have a point like that of the nicest needle. These enter the flesh upon the slightest contact, and are only extracted by an incision into the skin, which occasions the most acute pain. This is one of those cruel taxes which Nature has thought proper to impose on the patient curiosity of the traveller.

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Another inconvenience in this country is the abominable smell of an animal, without the agility but nearly of the same size with a rabbit. This creature, when hard pressed, and finding himself in danger of being taken, emits a most intolerable stench, which threatens suffocation to his pursuers, and is only only eluded by a precipitate flight. I saw in the plains of Tegas an animal about the size of a large cat, and resembling that species in his mouth, nose, and ears. He had a short reddish fur, his body and paws thick and short, with the face of a rabbit. One of them we were lucky enough to kill, which was roasted, and afforded an excellent repast. His flesh is fair, pleasant to the taste, and interlarded with fat in the manner of pork. The name of this animal in the Indian language is Taccouage. I heard much of the rattle-snake, but never saw one in the whole course of my travels through this country.

At a short distance on the left appear the mines of Sierra and Luigana, surrounded by a croud of hamlets. We passed a number of scattered villages belonging to the Indians

of *Punta Sant Yago* and *Caldera*, and came in view of a detached mountain to the westward, which is named, from its shape, the Table of Caldera. This mountain rises on all sides in the form of a sugar-loaf, in such a manner as to be inaccessible even to the goat, except by one path, which is likewise extremely difficult. The top, however, stretches into a fruitful plain, which being well supplied with rich springs of fine water, affords excellent pasture to numerous herds of cattle. A house built across the upper-end of the path prevents their escape, and confines them within the bounds of this singular park or terrace.

The territories of those civilized Indians who fell under the Spanish yoke upon the death of Montezuma, including the village of Caldera, begin at Salt River. We had now entered the mountains, and the fair plains of Tegas gave place to rugged and barren rocks, with here and there a little valley, which produces the wild aloe, the Barbary fig-tree, and a naked plant of a single stem, known in Europe by the title of *Cierge Paschal*. The trunk, springing from
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the ground to the height of fifteen feet, sends off four or five branches, which, diverging between three and four feet from the stem, shoot together to the elevation of twenty feet; and this is the only plant or tree to be found in the whole of this country.

In four days more we entered among trees, which, in the form of their leaves and arrangement of their branches, appeared to be a species of date. It may be classed with the fig-bannan of India, which is known in the Philippine isles by the name of Dedas de Dama, or Lady's Fingers. The soil in this district is remarkably light and dry.

We left the station of Cuvilla to the west, at the distance of twenty leagues, and came to a country supplied with sheep and goats, which are in such abundance as to be often killed for the value of the skin. We followed the course of a little river above Monterey, which is extremely salt, as indeed is all the water we had hitherto met with from Rio Salado, or Sabinas; its borders, however, are cultivated, and peopled with Indians. Having travelled over a mere desert, con-

sisting chiefly of high and savage mountains, we at last came in view of a beautiful plain well cultivated, in which is situated Sartille; and here we arrived on the 20th of January, 1768, after travelling one hundred and sixty leagues south-west. I ought to have mentioned, that two days before my arrival at Sartille we had an eclipse of the sun, appearing to me to be more considerable, and more exactly central, than that of the 1st of April, 1764, which I had an opportunity of observing in Provence.

C H A P. XIV.

Description of Sartille, a populous Town, belonging both to Spaniards and Indians—whimsical Performance of religious Ceremonies—Bull Fights—Gallantry of the Spaniards—Natural History of the Provinces of New Spain, Parras, and Reyno.

SARTILLE is a pretty large and populous town belonging to both Spaniards and Indians. The churches and squares are tolerably handsome; the streets broad, clean, and lined on each side with houses of stone. In general, however, it is built in a bad taste, particularly the houses of the Indians, who pay no regard to convenience in the distribution of their apartments. The fountains which one meets in different parts of Sartille are of much use in allaying the violent heat of the sun. Sartille contains a number of considerable merchants, and is the chief mart for savage productions imported from those countries we had lately visited, and which are afterwards retailed among the inhabitants

habitants of the neighbourhood. Sartille likewise serves as a repository for different articles of apparel, as well as the luxuries of life, which the savages accept in exchange for their horses, skins, and dried provisions. The Indians are the only part of the community who avoid the low debauchery of the multitude, the fatal consequences of which their neighbours experience, without knowing by what means they may be remedied. The character of the people at large is haughty, fraudulent, and deceitful. With great pretensions to generosity, they are at pains to conceal their natural sentiments, which are both illiberal and selfish. In fine, they have all the pride and stateliness of Castile, without the noble and generous qualities of the true Spaniard.

One district of Sartille is occupied by Spaniards only, or by such as affect to be of that nation; for the fact is, that by far the greater number of them have not one eighth part of European blood in their veins. Their colour is a mixture of the Indian, negro, and European complexions. The first is considered here as of the lowest extraction,
and

and therefore has little connection with those who either are or pretend to be Europeans.

The second district is inhabited by Indians named *Tascaltequas*, who, in proportion as the Spaniards are haughty and indolent, are gentle, affable, and industrious. It is this class of the people who apply themselves to the labour of the soil, and who cultivate those fields and gardens whence the inhabitants are supplied with wheat and Indian corn in abundance. Here, for the first time since my departure from New Orleans, I had the pleasure to meet with excellent wheat bread. The gardens produce apples, figs, grapes, every European plant, and a species of shrub from the juice of which the natives are used to make a tolerable beverage. This shrub, which is frequent all over New Spain, is named *maguey*, and its sap *pouchre*.

Though it was now the month of January, we enjoyed, under a sky still more pure and serene than that of San Antonio, the most delightful weather in the world. I assisted at the feast of Candlemas, which is celebrated at Sartille with much solemnity,
but

but in a manner somewhat new. In the morning, immediately after mass, the image of the Virgin is carried with great pomp through the principal streets, and being placed on a theatre close to a circus erected for the purpose of bull-fighting, every one retires. Upon the company's return from their afternoon's nap, bulls are brought upon the stage, and the spectacle begins, accompanied by a ridiculous kind of music performed in an orchestra at the elbow of the Virgin. The exhibition continues till the approach of night, when the Virgin, escorted by a second procession, returns to her usual residence in the church. The combat of the bulls is succeeded by a fair, the principal articles in which are sweetmeats, wines, confections, and many other incitements to gluttony. On this occasion is practised every species of Spanish gallantry, though the people are in general so poor, that many of them pawn their last shirt in order to entertain their friends with the delicacies of the fair. I was diverted to observe with what folly and extravagance husbands ape towards their wives all the little
 arts

arts of the lover. I saw one of those women, a person apparently not destitute of good sense, who chose to be offended with her husband, because, being without a penny in his pocket, he wanted the civility to part with a favourite *couteau-de-chasse* for the gratification of her caprice. It is the fashion for both parties to affect a grave and serious deportment ; while the husband makes it his business to demean himself towards his mate as if it were only the dawn of his courtship. This festival, one similar to which I saw at San Antonio in honour of the Conception, lasted three days. On the eve of the last, it is customary for the people to pay their respects to the Virgin, in masquerade, in which some affect the character of devils, others that of angels, whilst the greatest part appear in the male and female dresses of the Moors. The image of the Virgin is conveyed from the church, and being introduced to the ball-room, at the house of the master of the ceremonies, the dancing begins : mean while, the masks are entertained with a collation, and the evening closes with a rude dramatic performance. Next day the
same

same diversions are repeated with the combat of bulls, and continue till the fall of night, when the festival being ended, the image of the Virgin, attended by a procession, is carried back to the church. It often happens that usages originally instituted for pious purposes, degenerate at last into the most ridiculous and extravagant abuses and absurdities.

East and south-east from Sartille are situated the provinces of Parras and Reyno, which abound in good wine, sugar, fruit, Indian corn, wheat, and cattle. On the coast of Reyno is the harbour of Tempic, a coast well supplied with great variety of excellent fish. The province of New Spain produces a small quantity of cochineal, a species of insect which feeds on a prickly plant, resembling in some respects the Barbary fig-tree, but whose leaves are much smaller, and of a finer texture. This insect, after making a little pod attached to the leaves, shuts itself up in it, and dies. By degrees it acquires colour and consistency, and takes the form of cochineal immediately before its last preparation. In due season the
Indian

Indian spreads a linen cloth under the leaves, and shaking the branches, the pods or cochineal fall to the ground. This useful commodity grows in the fields like indigo, without the aid of cultivation, and is gathered by the Indians alone, few of whom have any conception of its commercial value.

My fellow-traveller had been unable to accomplish his business so soon as he expected ; but now, being in the beginning of February, we began to prepare for our journey. We were informed that the roads were tolerably good, and therefore hoped to proceed more expeditiously than it had been hitherto in our power, by reason of our baggage. On this account I intrusted the principal part of my necessaries to a Franciscan friar, who undertook to forward them to Mexico as soon as he had delivered certain articles of apparel at different missions, some of which we had visited on our way to Sartille. The men who accompanied us to this place now returned to their own country ; and here I had the mortification to bid adieu for ever to my good Indian of San Antonio. His unwearied zeal to accommodate himself to my

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awkwardness and inexperience, in countries entirely destitute of every convenience of life, made a deep impresson on my mind, and is what I cannot sufficiently acknowledge. Here therefore was I obliged to hire another servant to attend me in the farther prosecution of my travels.

C H A P. XV.

The Author quits Sartille, and pursues his Journey towards New Mexico—Vengeance exercised by the Spaniards upon the Indians, after a Revolt of the latter—Reflections upon the Punishment of Exile—politic Conduct of the Spaniards towards the Indians subjected to them.

WE departed from Sartille on our way to Mexico on the 10th day of February, 1768,; and as we were now entering a country said to be liberally supplied with all the necessaries of life, we were relieved from the hardships of carrying our provisions along

along with us. The first three days of our march presented us with a cheerful and populous country, but the three succeeding led us over a dry desert soil, covered with a kind of acrid dust, possessing some of the qualities of quick-lime. Our present route supplied little water, except from wells of great depth, which were brackish and unpleasant; and even this was only to be obtained for money, at intervals of twenty miles distance. The keeper of the well lives hard by it in a miserable hut, which is the only kind of habitation I saw in this country. Having passed this inhospitable region, and about the same extent of meadow-ground, we came to a mine named *Charcas*, in the vicinity of which stands a little neat town considerably less than Sartilte, but in proportion to its size much more populous.

Here my fellow-traveller, the late governor of Tegas, fell ill; but as I was now become impatient of delay, and as the road seemed tolerably frequented, I determined, though reluctantly, to take leave of his excellency. He expressed much regret at my

departure, and even complained that I deserted him upon the road; but I was under the necessity of travelling with the utmost expedition, having learned that the Manilla galleon had arrived at Acapulco, from which I was still distant no less than two hundred and fifty leagues. It was the middle of February, and this vessel was to sail for Manilla towards the end of March.

I had enjoyed good health since I left San Antonio, except a rheumatic affection in my knee, which I cured by means of exercise and a cataplasm of bruised mint fried with goat's grease. I likewise suffered at times from a weakness in my stomach, occasioned by the Indian corn I had been obliged to live upon all the way from Sartille.

We arrived at the village of Venau, composed entirely of Indians, who live under the jurisdiction of their chiefs; and I was informed that the Spaniards had just executed twelve of the most criminal of the people, who had been concerned in a late insurrection. The heads of the offenders appeared upon poles erected on the site of their houses, which, after sending all their relations into banish-

banishment, the vengeance of public justice had razed to the ground.

Exile is a punishment much in use among the Spaniards; and its object being to consult the security of the public, by separating the innocent from the guilty, and by producing a change in their condition, perhaps equally advantageous to both, is evidently derived from the wisest policy. The friends and adherents of the sufferers who remain, tainted with dangerous principles, and who, in any situation favourable to their designs, might be ready to imitate their conduct, the probable means of success being withdrawn, will continue quiet in their obedience. Meanwhile, in their intercourse with the better part of society, they observe the happy tendency of temperate and well regulated lives, begin to open their eyes to false maxims of bad education, and at length gratify their desires in the surer paths of good example. I believe it will be found, that great crimes in almost every instance originate either in opportunity or despair; and hence nothing seems better calculated to check the progress of vicious principles,

than associating with the orderly, charitable, and industrious part of the community.

Besides, exile frequently places the offender in a better situation than he before enjoyed; a circumstance of such importance to the encouragement of good morals, that I am persuaded there are few men so naturally immoral as that, had they been born to the advantages of a fine climate and soil, would not have escaped that shame and misery which unfortunately terminate many of their miserable lives; moderate and profitable labour, united to the native charms of a good life, would have restrained the greatest part of them from the ruinous consequences of violence and injustice.

It would be difficult to give a more striking illustration of these observations, than may be found in the history of our own colonies; whose manners, considering the distance of time between their respective colonizations, may be expected to be a good deal different. The morals of the people in the province of Louisiana and the Phillipine Isles are much more simple and pure than either in St. Domingo or Mexico. Now, without meaning
any

any reflection on the extraction of certain Creoles in Louisiana and the Phillipine Isles, every one knows that the anxiety of government to colonize the first, gave admission to men of all descriptions, whilst the last have long been the ordinary places of banishment for all manner of convicts from the kingdom of Mexico. I have seen at Manilla opulent merchants, officers, and indeed men of every condition, who, after wearing chains on their limbs, as badges of their infamy, have, in a country where the temptations to vice are not rare, learned to conduct themselves in a manner every way regular and exemplary.

The circumstances of the country in the neighbourhood of Venau seemed to warrant this example of severity in the Spaniards; and since they only punished the ringleaders of the conspiracy with death, contenting themselves with the banishment of inferior insurgents, it is but fair to admit that on this occasion they tempered the rigour of the law with the milder precepts of humanity. And here I must remark, that either Indian population is surprisngly rapid, or the accounts

we have received from historians, of the horrid massacres executed by the Spaniards upon the natives of the Mexican empire, have been greatly exaggerated. I am an eye-witness to the present vast population of this kingdom, as well as to the easy circumstances in which, though in subordination to their conquerors, the original natives in general pass their lives. In some places the collection of the public revenue and the care of the police are deposited in the hands of their chiefs ; while the laws of the Spanish government have, upon the whole, a tendency to make them good subjects, rather than miserable and discontented slaves. Among the inferior orders of Indians, many are admitted to offices in the church, army, magistracy ; and in all the principal Spanish towns, particularly at Manilla, they are invited to a full incorporation with the natives of Spain. It is in the remoter parts of the country alone, where the proud title of conqueror inspiring many vagabonds, whom fortune has raised from insignificance to better circumstances, with insolence and brutality, that the poor Indian is made to feel

feel the humiliating state of his dependence. In such situations, while little intercourse prevails between the two nations, the European gives free scope of all those absurd prejudices which people of different countries are apt to entertain respecting each other, and which are in a peculiar manner incident to the Spaniards. But the patient and unassuming spirit of the Indian, who, in point of number, is infinitely his master's superior, conforming to the proud and imperious temper of the Spaniard, the character of both jointly, though accidentally, contributes to order and subordination in the state.

CHAP. XVI.

Arrival at the Gold and Silver Mines of Potosi—Description of the Town of Potosi—peculiar Mode of catching wild Animals, practised by the Inhabitants—the Author quits Potosi, and passes through a rich and luxuriant Country.

THE Spaniard whom I hired at Sartille, and who succeeded to my good Indian of San Antonio, was a man of a bad character. As long as I enjoyed the benefit of the governor's company, from whom I had just parted, I considered myself secure against injury from whatever quarter; but we were now alone, and with the opinion I entertained of this Spaniard, I could not help being a good deal apprehensive of danger. Luckily, however, he seemed to have no arms about his person, while I, as usual, wore a couteau-de-chasse at my girdle. My horses and mules had been always kept at grafs with those of the governor, and consequently had hitherto cost me neither trouble
nor

nor expence ; but I was now afraid to trust them in the custody of my Spaniard during night, lest he should decamp, and leave me to make the best of my way on foot in the morning.

As on this route the traveller easily finds a house for his accommodation in the evening, I used the precaution to purchase from my host the provender necessary for my animals over night ; but as in these inns there is no such convenience as a stable, I ordered the Spaniard to sleep within doors, while I lay in the field, at the foot of the stake to which my mules were made fast. Besides, as I was always more careful of my beasts than myself, I knew by this means in what manner they fed, and in what condition they were able to travel next day. It is surprising how much they seemed hampered and dissatisfied with their confinement. The three first nights they would eat nothing but a little cut grass ; and it was with the utmost difficulty I could make them chew their corn, after taking the pains to moisten it for them in salt water. On the morning subsequent to the first night they
passed

passed in this unnatural situation, such was the benumbed condition of their limbs, that it was impossible to say from their motions that they had a single joint in their bodies. However, what with pulling them after us by force, and a severe application of the whip, they began at length not to walk but to leap, dragging their hinder legs as if they had been tied in halters; meanwhile, their blood becoming warm, and the circulation accelerated by discipline and exercise, they gradually recovered the ordinary use of their limbs.

On the second day of my journey, I arrived at the celebrated mines of gold and silver at San Louis Potosi, the richest of which is that of Serro San Pedro. Potosi is a handsome well-built town, large, populous, and situated in the midst of beautiful gardens. The streets are neat, and run in strait lines; the churches magnificent; the people opulent, and in possession of all the comforts and conveniencies of life. The Indians, however, appear to be of a melancholy humour all over this province; for, besides the ordinary hardships of a yoke to which they have ever submitted with reluctance,

the imposition of new taxes, and the abolition of the order of the Jesuits, were recent causes of much dissatisfaction. Their chiefs to the distance of Venau, mindful of many former injuries, and in resentment of what they considered additional oppression, engaged their vassals in a kind of revolt, which, as the natives are twenty to one Spaniard, without the prompt interference of government, and the severities exercised for its suppression, might have been of serious consequences.

I purchased a horse at Potosi, this country being eminently distinguished for a fine breed of that animal, as well as for rearing cows for the consumption of Mexico. The method employed here to catch wild cattle is, perhaps, peculiar to those people: the cattle are generally permitted to roam at large over the fields; but in case of a sale are hunted down in the following manner: the master coming up to a herd on horseback and at full speed, forces them to a gallop; but in a short time they are worn out with fatigue, and sink to the ground on their knees; he then alights from his horse, and, exerting all his

his strength, raises the animal obliquely by the tail ; by which means she loses her balance, and drops upon her nose ; an attitude so awkward and confounding to the cow, that she will remain a whole day without attempting to recover her liberty. Selecting therefore such as he can immediately dispose of, the rest are relieved from their confinement.

We left to the westward of this route the provinces Guadalajara and Zacatecas, with their different towns, in the neighbourhood of which are mines of considerable value.* This country is full of mineral riches, and still there is a great deal of real though concealed poverty ; for the Creoles in general acquire and dissipate their money with an equal facility. After spending two days at Potosi, I resumed my journey, and passed through a country pleasantly diversified with hills, villages, and fields of wheat and Indian corn : a sack of Indian corn is sold here for two and six-pence, when the market price is at its highest standard. In respect to cul-

* I was told there were many more to the south-west of Potosi.

ture and population, this country is very much the same with that situated between Charcas and Potosi. The Indians, at whose houses I always chose to lodge, are simple and hospitable in their manners; good health, gentleness of disposition, ease, and innocence of life, are nothing more in them than the natural consequences of that temperance and love of industry to which they are devoted. They are plain in their dress, and wholly unaddicted to the proud and luxurious manners of their conquerors. A few of them have adopted, in some measure, the Spanish fashions; but by far the greatest part adhere to the taste and modes of their ancestors. The ordinary dress of the men is a goat-skin, and consists of breeches and a kind of shirt descending to the girdle, with a hat in the stile of an European. The women wear a piece of cloth tied round the waist, which falls down to the middle of the leg, and a short cloak over the neck and shoulders. Their hair is formed into tresses, and knotted in different modes on the back part of the head, which is kept constantly uncovered.

Besides

Besides the alcades, who compose a kind of consulate, in which resides a portion of civil and military jurisdiction, the commandant of the province, the king's courts of justice, the bishops, chapters, and monks, form an extensive system of magistracy. This rich champaign country is divided into baronies under different titles; and from these the public offices are endowed with large estates, upon which they have erected beautiful seats, and from which they derive very opulent revenues. The luxury and magnificence of the higher orders of the inhabitants are in all respects equal to what you find among our first nobility in Europe.

CHAP. XVII.

Arrival at the City of San Miguel el Grande, from whence the Author proceeds to the Town of San Juan del Rio—large commodious Villages announce at length his Approach to the Capital, and accordingly he discovers from the Heights, the City of Mexico in the Centre of a very extensive Lake—the City of Mexico and its Environs described—Customs and Pursuits of its opulent Inhabitants—annual Commemoration of the Conquest of Mexico.

FOUR days after my departure from Potosi I arrived at San Miguel el Grande, situated on the declivity of a hill, a city much more beautiful and considerable in extent than any I had hitherto visited. The houses, streets, and gardens, are in a better stile, have a much nobler effect, and announce to the eye the superior wealth and consequence of the inhabitants. Next day I took lodging in the suburbs of Queretano, a place famous for the excellence of its manufactures.

factures in cloth, hats, and other branches of merchandize. Thence I proceeded to a pretty populous town, named San Juan del Rio, near a beautiful river, on whose banks are public walks shaded with several rows of fine trees; the trees, however, of this country are few in number, and, except such as are found scattered on the borders of rivers, have a very bleak and dismal appearance. They consist chiefly of the Barbary fig-tree, which seldom grows taller than from twenty-five to thirty feet. The soil, however, is in a state of good cultivation, extremely populous, and furnished with a great number of large towns. Soon after leaving Juan del Rio, the traveller comes to mountains of considerable height; and for three succeeding days he sees nothing but large commodious villages, which intimate his approach to a great metropolis.

Accordingly, on the 28th of February, having travelled a hundred and fifty leagues south from Sartille, I had the pleasure to discover, from the heights, at the distance of about a league, a very extensive lake, in the centre of which is built the city of Mexico.

Mexico. It has the effect of an immense mass of building, connected with the land by causeways or embankments raised to a great height above the water. At the foot of the mountain, and on the borders of the lake, is situated the village of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, which one might mistake for a little European town. Here the only curiosities worth the traveller's notice are a beautiful church and aqueduct, which, with the whole kingdom of Mexico, are consecrated to the same *Nuestra Señora*. I now proceeded to the capital by a causeway at least a hundred feet in breadth, and three miles in length, which rests upon a series of arches kept in excellent repair, and meant to give free passage to the briny waters of the lake. Five causeways of equal magnificence, leading to the different quarters of this great city, facilitate its communication with the adjacent country. It is about six leagues in circumference, and defended only by barriers in the nature of turnpike-gates.

The lake, containing a bottom of deep mud, which is every where impassable on

foot, answers all the purposes of artificial fortifications ; whilst an extreme scarcity of wood in the neighbouring country equally secures the Mexicans from every species of invasion by water. The streets in general are broad, run in straight lines, and have their names inscribed on the wall, with the number of each house on the door ; a circumstance of great advantage to strangers, who otherwise would be in constant danger of losing their way. The inns, like those in the adjacent country, are large, handsome buildings ; but the traveller is not a little mortified upon entering them, to find they contain nothing but empty apartments, destitute both of furniture and provisions. The houses, consisting for the greater part of three or four stories, are good ; and the places of public resort, such as walks, squares, and gardens, are delightful. The cathedral, the castle of the Spanish viceroy, and the simple remains of the palace and baths of the ancient emperors of Mexico, occupy three sides of the principal square. Next to these buildings, the mint is an object of curiosity to the traveller, on account of the vast piles of
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of ingots with which its courts are constantly filled, and which are brought hither in order to have their weight and fineness ascertained. The metal, after passing the assay-office, suffers a deduction of the king's fifth, in consideration of liberty granted to work the mines, which in general are the property of private persons.

The Baratillo, a species of exchange, from the regularity and rich ornaments of the building, merits also the attention of the traveller; and if he is not tired, he will find the piazzas, allotted to the purposes of a flower-market, millinery, and pastry shops, as well as for the accommodation of the clothier and jeweller, in the same stile of highly ornamented architecture.

Some of the fine arts, particularly painting and sculpture, which are chiefly employed in adorning the churches, are cultivated by the Indians with very considerable success. But of all the trades in this city, the mystery of the goldsmith is held in the highest repute, and his workmanship, tho' heavy, is far from being deficient either in taste or finishing. Silver, especially in the

churches, is applied to an infinity of different purposes. But in order to have an idea of the immense riches of this metropolis, the traveller ought to be here the day on which they commemorate the conquest of Mexico. In honour of this great festival, every Mexican vies with his neighbour in an ostentatious display of whatever is most costly, rare, and splendid, in his possession; and indeed it would be difficult to estimate the value of the prodigious quantities of gold and silver in different forms which on this occasion meet the public eye. Silver is esteemed little above a common metal, and hence is frequently substituted, by the sumptuous Mexican, for the purposes of plating the wheels of his carriage, and shoeing the hoofs of his horses.

The Spaniards and Creoles of the first class, having lost all desire of residing on the opposite shore of the Atlantic, where they would have fewer enjoyments, and much less consequence, live at Mexico in a state of splendour and magnificence. Elegant and fashionable dresses are very dear; but modest and decent apparel, and all kinds of pro-

provisions, are remarkably cheap. A distance of two hundred leagues is little regarded by the indefatigable Indian, who, for a small profit, imports the necessaries of life from all corners of the country. By his virtuous toil and industry he escapes that sordid indigence and misery which devour the lower class of the Spaniards. The luxury of the great families, their gaming, the magnificence of their houses, the splendor of their furniture, the number of their domestics, their carriages drawn by four, perhaps six mules; every thing, in short, conspires to impress the traveller with the highest idea of Mexican wealth. But in proportion as men of the first condition are rich, those of the lower sort among the Spaniards are poor and wretched; insomuch that, under a great coat hanging in a thousand tatters, you will frequently find neither shirt nor breeches. In one word, drunkenness, debauchery, card-playing, and cock-fighting, constitute the habitual occupations of all sexes and conditions of the people.

I observed, that the Mexicans in conversation frequently applied the term *Mecos* to

the northern savages, and spoke of them with every sign of extreme aversion and terror. Chychymecos, when applied by one Mexican to another, seems to denote the highest degree of insult and reproach. Now are the Chychymecos a particular nation of savages still more cruel and ferocious than the Mecos? or is Chychy only an aggravation of what is implied in the word Mecos? As to all this I confess myself entirely at a loss. One thing is certain, however, that the Indians who inhabit the northern regions of this kingdom, have long renounced the patient and submissive character of their ancestors; and hence the Spaniards are obliged to maintain, at a great expence, a strong body of Creoles, who are constantly employed in carrying on hostilities against those warlike tribes. Upon my arrival here, a detachment of these troops was dispatched to the province of Sonora, and the object of this expedition was to clear the roads leading from Mexico to the mines of Serro Prietto, as well as Matanchel, and other sea-ports, by means of which their trade is carried on with California. These wars all
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tend to the enlargement of the Spanish dominions, already almost without bounds; and one may safely affirm, that the number of great towns, vast population, fertility of soil, mines, and other rich productions, peculiar to this country, render Mexico, though not one of the most powerful, yet the most magnificent empire in the world.*

During my abode here the Mexican inquisitors, whose discipline is exercised with great severity, ordered several persons to be whipped through the streets, among whom were a couple of unhappy women, the victims of an absurd and cruel superstition. The crime for which they suffered, was that of creating ulcers and sores on the bodies of their enemies, by means of certain incantations, and particularly by scarifying the corresponding parts of a doll, which they were said to preserve with much care for the diabolical mysteries of witchcraft. The witches appeared with these deadly engines

* Not having had it in my power, however, to visit it as extensively as I could have wished, I will readily admit that my knowledge of this kingdom must be in many respects lame and imperfect.

of magic hanging round their necks ; while their fellow-criminal wore each a kind of mitre, on the front of which was a label inscribed with the names of their several offences. All punishments inflicted by this ghostly tribunal are regarded by the Mexicans as a service peculiarly acceptable to the Deity, and therefore held in the highest veneration. Among the good and charitable offices we owe our neighbour, and recommended in the Spanish catechism, I took particular notice of one, which is that, not of persuading him to embrace the truth, but of chastising him with stripes if he should be found in error.

Upon my arrival here I found the atmosphere moist and cold, but afterwards I was inclined to think it by no means unwholesome ; for though Mexico is furrounded by a lake, yet having a high situation in a mountainous country, the air seldom or never loses its elasticity. In this city I gave myself up wholly to recreation, and the enjoyment of those innocent pleasures which so happy a spot abundantly supplied. I lived, however, on a salutary diet, such as roots,
 vege-

vegetables, and European fruits, which are equally common in the gardens of Mexico with those of its own continent. I was careful to use cooling draughts, consisting chiefly of water and the meal of Indian corn, which, after being boiled to a certain point, acquires the consistency of chocolate; and is named by the Spaniards *atollé*.

I proceeded once more to visit the curiosities of Mexico, the churches, palaces, public walks, the gardens of Almeyda, and the aqueduct and gardens of Tacuba. In the mean time the day of the galleon's sailing from Acapulco, being the 25th, or at latest the 30th of March, was drawing near, and I began to be anxious for the arrival of my baggage, which I had delivered to the monk at Sartille. I had been three weeks at Mexico, when I received a letter from Queretano, informing me, that the Franciscan had unluckily fallen ill, a circumstance which would protract the arrival of my things for some time; but that, upon his recovery, they should be forwarded with all possible dispatch. Delay, however, was now impracticable without losing the opportunity of

of the galleon ; and therefore, rather than submit to the risk of so serious a disappointment, I determined to leave them behind me. I desired, however, a merchant of my acquaintance to sell them as soon as they came to hand, and to remit whatever money they might yield, as a present to my good Indian of San Antonio. I was not a little dissatisfied with the negligence of the monk ; but in my present situation I had no alternative.

C H A P. — XVIII.

Departure from the City of Mexico for Acapulco—the Author is reduced to the Necessity of travelling alone, and arrives at the Village of Cuernavaca—Trait of Humanity in a poor Indian—Arrival at the Port of Acapulco—its Trade—several Shocks of an Earthquake are felt during the Author's Stay—he embarks in a Galleon bound to the City of Manilla.

ON the 18th of March I set out, with no other companion than two mules, on the road to Acapulco ; for the Spaniard I hired at Sartille, resolving, it seems, that I should not entertain a bad opinion of him without reason, had disappeared soon after my arrival at Mexico with the horse I purchased at Potosi. I had engaged a French servant in his place, whom I found in indigent circumstances ; but after living at my expence for several days, he likewise chose to abscond the evening before my departure. My impatience to get to Acapulco was so

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great,

great, that, though entirely alone, I could not brook the delay of a moment longer. The roads, however, being broad, and much frequented, I did not find myself in any danger of losing my way. After passing a causeway equally magnificent with that of Guadaloupe, I ascended a very high hill, and slept amidst the huts of Indians, who were employed in making charcoal from a wood of pines, at a place called Tchusco. Next day, having travelled across several small stunted woods, I came to sleep at the village of Cuernavaca, on the south side of a hilly ridge; whence, when I awaked, I was delighted with the prospect of gardens, interspersed with pieces of water, and producing every kind of European as well as American fruit. As my road the following day lay over wild and barren mountains, with here and there a straggling fir, it was considerably bleak and melancholy; in the little bottoms, however, the traveller observes small plantations of the sugar cane, which contribute in some degree to diversify and enliven the scene. Descending from the heights I met an Indian under a load of

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fruits

fruits and vegetables, on his way to Mexico; he had an ass to accompany and assist him; but in pity to the fatigue and infirmities of his companion, his humane master had shifted the burden to his own shoulders, leaving his aged servant to walk before him at his ease; a custom prevalent, I am told, all over the country. The two first days I enjoyed the company of the Indians, as they passed between the neighbouring villages; but at last I found myself under the necessity of hiring a guide from one place to another.

I left on the right the mines of Tascon, or Real del Monte; and having slept at Canobial, or the village of Reeds, on the fifth day of my departure from Mexico I passed a deep and rapid river, called Rio de las Balsas, or the River of Rafts, which are here made of the aromatic reed, kept afloat by means of gourd bottles. The flies rise in such swarms from this river, and are so extremely troublesome, that the traveller finds it convenient to continue his journey during the night; here the road enters a series of narrow vallies, and afterwards leading across
a very

a very difficult rivulet, I was obliged to hire a negro for my conductor. This African gave me a very early specimen of his cunning and dishonesty ; for we had no sooner come to an obscure part of the road, than he gave his horse the spur, and rushed into a dark and narrow lane. I saw it was his intention to run off with one of my mules, which was tied behind him, and I passed him in a moment at full gallop. He was obliged to stop and apologise in the best manner he could, endeavouring to make me believe it an accident occasioned by the unruly temper of his horse. I rode close by his side, however, during the remainder of our journey, holding my *couteau-de-chasse* ready to strike upon the smallest appearance of a similar accident ; but he wanted courage to repeat an experiment which had succeeded so ill in the first attempt. I was now heartily sick of my guide ; and therefore, on our arrival at the first village, I gave him his discharge, and we parted, equally, I have no doubt, disgusted with each other. Having entered a flat, but fertile and well-cultivated country, I came to a town called Chilpinzingo, which

which consists entirely of Indians, with whom, except a very few Spaniards, this whole country is peopled. Hitherto the soil had produced only a small quantity of oil, pitch, Indian corn, sugar, cocoa, and fruit; but now all those productions began to appear in abundance, whilst the roads, extremely rugged, and in some places almost impassable among the mountains, became much less difficult. The climate was immoderately hot, and every tree on the road seemed alive with squirrels. Mexico receives a great part of its provisions from this province, with a fresh assortment of oriental luxuries from Acapulco upon every arrival of the galleon.

The dress of the Indians, and manners of the country, are nearly the same as in the more northern parts of the kingdom, except that here they have a kind of reed grating, instead of walls, to their houses, as a precaution against the intemperate heat of the sun. I pursued my way to Rio Papagallos or Perroquet River, and put up at the house of a good Indian, who received me with much hospitality. Next morning, as there
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remained now only twenty leagues to Acapulco, I was resolved to accomplish them without sleeping. I travelled ten alone; but the road turning in among the mountains which overlook Acapulco, I rested two hours at a little village, and took a guide for the ensuing night. We had proceeded half way in our journey, when my guide becoming extremely tired, and earnestly desiring a little respite, though his master was amply paid for his attendance the whole way to Acapulco, I was obliged to leave him on the road, and travel alone. Having learned that a messenger with the galleon's last dispatches from the viceroy of Mexico had passed two days before, and observing that the loss of one hour might prove fatal to my intended voyage, I would on no account whatever submit to delay. But I was now in a narrow path, intricate and much incumbered with large stones, and therefore found myself under the necessity of proceeding with caution. Besides, I was apprehensive of losing myself in the dark; but having learned from experience that the mule always keeps in the beaten path, I laid the bridle on his neck,

neck, and left him entirely to his own discretion. A little after one in the morning I reached the top of a very high mountain, where, to my infinite joy, I began to hear the breakers on the western shore; and gave thanks to that merciful Providence which had conducted me in safety to the end of a very painful and arduous journey. My descent from the mountain presenting me with a view of the wide ocean, I again fell upon my knees, and adored Heaven for the enchanting prospect of the ship and element below me; a prospect, the very idea of which had supported my strength and spirits in many a difficult and dismal situation. At length, at six in the morning, after travelling a hundred leagues south-south-west from Mexico, and eight hundred from New Orleans, I arrived at the port of Acapulco, which the natives name Portou, or, by way of eminence, the Port.

Acapulco is a miserable little town, which, however, is dignified with the name of city; and, being surrounded with volcanic mountains, its atmosphere is constantly thick and unwholesome. The inhabitants are few, and

almost entirely Africans. The harbour is safe, beautiful, and extensive. Besides its being the ordinary port for the Manilla galleon, it used to be frequented by Peruvian vessels, which came hither to buy pitch and tar, as well as the different commodities of China and Europe. This trade, however, the company of Lima thought proper, some time since, entirely to abolish. The inhabitants are now become totally idle, and destitute of every species of traffic; and hence the fair pearls, which, with a little industry, might be obtained from their own coasts, as well as those of California, lie wholly neglected. The town stands on a bay north-west from the road, formed by the curvature of the coast, and a small promontory, on which is an old fort in miserable repair. Ships may ride at anchor two cables length from the shore, and be sheltered from the storm by a point of land situated under the fort. There is another little bay in the south-east quarter under a mountainous strip of land, which separates and protects the road from the open sea. This station is still safer than the former, and

and therefore frequented by such vessels as have occasion to winter at Acapulco. There is, besides, without the road, and about half a league from the town, a creek of considerable capacity, which I imagine might afford good harbour for shipping, at least during the fine season. The road of Acapulco is about three leagues in breadth, but the entrance to it is too wide to be fortified completely.

Sonfonate, Acapulco, Matanchel, and San Joseph, are the only ports frequented by the Spaniards on this part of the South sea. Sonfonate is the port of the Peruvian vessels which resort thither for the purpose of buying pitch and wood; Acapulco of the Manilla galleon, which imports all sorts of Indian and Chinese commodities, and returns with their value in specie; Matanchel is a mart for the trade of California; and San Joseph is little more than a watering-place for the Manilla ship at her first arrival on the coast of New Spain or California.

During the time I sojourned here we had three shocks of an earthquake. As it was my constant practice to live in one of the

houses, and conform myself to the manners of the Indians, I happened to be lying on the floor, and in a moment of drowsiness preceding sound sleep, which however is compatible with the consciousness of external motion, when I perceived the ground to tremble under me, and heard a noise like the rattling of a heavy carriage over the rough pavement of a narrow lane. In my reverie I fancied myself still at Mexico, which is kept in a state of constant tremour by the vast concourse of coaches and other carriages; but I could not account for the violent impression they made on the walls of the house. Such was the reasoning of my clouded faculties, when I was completely awaked by the screams of women and children, who ran about in the streets crying, pouring forth prayers to the Almighty, and exclaiming in one voice, Ave Maria! Ave Maria Santissima! I was then no longer at a loss to account for the tremulous motion I had felt; and I observed that the noise, still heard at times in the direction of the mountains, was always succeeded by a shock, which appeared to me nothing more than the diffusion of its vibrations.

tions. The eruption of a volcano contained in the bowels of a mountain, produces, I presume, a concussion in the contiguous parts of the earth, whose vibrations, extending to a greater or less distance according to the quantity and activity of the volcanic matter, we denominate a shock.

The principal part of the galleon's cargo having been forwarded to Mexico, the annual fair of Acapulco, which happens at this season, was confined to the little articles of a few pedlars, who had been used to supply the officers and clerks in the Chinese trade with certain necessaries for the voyage. We had three millions of piastres on board, partly destined to purchase the galleon's next cargo, and partly to defray the expences of government in the Phillipine Isles. In short, having seen no fewer than a hundred passengers embark, at least forty of whom were monks, I went on board the galleon.

C H A P. XIX.

Departure from the Road of Acapulco—confused State of the Galleon, and the motley Crew assembled on Board her—Anchorage near the Island of Guam—Population of this Island—its natural Productions and Animals—Description of the Inhabitants—the Galleon quits her Anchorage—encounters a violent Storm—seeks Shelter in the Road of the Island of Samar—Description of the Champan, an Indian Vessel of a curious Structure.

WE failed from the road of Acapulco, on our passage to Manilla, the 2d of April 1768, with the wind in the north-west, steering towards the S. and S. S. W. It is necessary to have had the mortification of taking a passage in a Spanish galleon, to have an idea of the horrid confusion which now presented itself; and yet I was assured our present condition was, in every respect, quiet and orderly, compared with the crowded and tumultuous plight of this vessel on her
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last voyage from Manilla. Though of only five hundred tons, she carried, besides the ship's company, convicts, monks, women, merchants, officers, civil and military, with a large detachment of clerks. The emoluments of an officer in the service of the galleon, exclusive of the advantages of trade, are very considerable ; and his place, saleable at the end of each voyage, is often vested in a person who has not the smallest pretensions to the character of a sailor. The pilots alone are entrusted with navigating the ship, and have the rank of major in the king's service. I found it was a regulation on board, that each person should lay in his own water and stores, and eat apart by himself. The crew were not even provided with a common kettle, whilst some individuals had one each for his own particular use. As each common sailor on board the galleon was allowed a couple of servants to attend him, our domestics were more numerous than their masters, and being without all order and discipline, gave occasion to intolerable uproar. Not having had it in my power to purchase provisions for my passage at Acapulco, some

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days after our departure I made an agreement, in consequence of which I messed with one of the pilots.

Having reached the thirteenth degree of latitude, we stood W. and S. W. with a faint breeze at E. and E. N. E. scarcely sufficient to fill our sails, but which, notwithstanding, being steady, we made considerable way. In these regions, as at Acapulco, the horizon is constantly hazy, and the heat of the atmosphere close and oppressive. We had frequent lightning during the night, accompanied with loud claps of thunder. Having arrived at the tenth degree of northern latitude, we continued our course, varying between the ninth and eleventh, and were upwards of fifteen days without touching a sail. The wind, freshening a little in the same quarter of the east, the sky became perfectly serene, and the rate of our going was accelerated, with the finest weather, and the most beautiful sea in the world.

On the 15th of May we observed flying-fishes, with wings of a reddish colour, whereas the wings of such as I had hitherto met with were of a dusky white. On the 20th
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we saw several kinds of sea-fowls ; and from the 20th to the 30th we were admonished by thunder, lightning, and flocks of small birds, to be on our guard against certain rocks and sand-banks situated about four hundred leagues east of the Marian, or Ladrone islands.

Standing for some days between the twelfth and thirteenth degree, on the 9th of June, with the wind always E. and E. N. E. we discovered mountains in the E. N. E. of the island Guam. This is the only one of the Marian isles on which the Spaniards have a settlement ; and their new governor being in the galleon, we came to anchor the following day, south of the island, in thirty fathoms water. We lay at the distance of a cannon-shot from land, opposite to a small fort, and a village of Indians. This fort is only three leagues from the principal town, which is the ordinary residence of the governor, as well as of the greater part of the inhabitants. It is of some extent, and stands on the border of a little river, at the mouth of which is a road for shipping, tolerably safe during the summer months. The place, however,

however, where we dropped anchor, being protected from the north-west winds, which, as the rains had begun to fall, were now prevalent, we deemed still more secure. In the E. and N. E. we saw a little island covered with cocoa-trees, and separated from the main land by a large shoal of a whitish colour. It had been usual to send a vessel from Manilla to this island once in two or three years; but owing to some accident it was now eight since the inhabitants had seen a stranger on shore.

The natives of Guam are tall and well made; and, as far as one is warranted to judge from the expression of the face, are of an open and generous character. It was here I first met with the custom of chewing betel, which is the leaf of a shrub of the same name. This leaf, when smeared over with flaked lime, and wrapped round a parcel of a species of nutmeg obtained from a tree named *areca*, is put in the mouth, and after being chewed for some time produces an irritation on the palate, and a reddish saliva. It affords the Indian a very sensible degree of pleasure; and the use of it to many in
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those regions becomes equally necessary as snuff to an European. The coarse and sensual among the people mix it up with tobacco, opium, and other rank drugs : but in the mouth of the Indian this composition exhales a very grateful odour, which he has much satisfaction in imparting to his companions ; and when a woman chuses to favour her admirer with a portion of her masticated betel, he receives it as a pledge of peculiar complacency and friendship. For my part, besides its extreme heat and pungency on the palate, and the disgusting effect of perpetually spitting a kind of reddish viscous matter, it never gave me the smallest pleasure, nor do I believe I should ever be able to acquire the habit of using it. We met here with an excellent kind of brandy, manufactured from the fermented juice of the cocoa-tree. I remember to have seen brandy equally good in New Spain, made from the juice of a species of aloes, whose fibres are strong and useful to the natives for the purpose of thread.

The natives of the Phillippine Isles pretend, that the inhabitants of Guam, and the
other

other Marian Islands, are originally descended in colonies from them ; an opinion which I think by no means improbable. The Indians on this island may be computed at about ten thousand, and are distributed into seven or eight villages. The soil is extremely fertile, producing rice, Indian corn, and vegetables in abundance. There are some cows, plenty of poultry, and many different kinds of fruit. The only species, however, of this last, which I was not acquainted with before, is in this country named *rima*,* or the fruit of the bread-tree. The bread-fruit is between five and six inches in diameter, has a rough skin like the coarsest shagreen, and consists internally of a yellowish substance, which the Indians prepare for their use by boiling, and afterwards roasting on the embers. The bread-tree, the cocoa, and fig-bannan, are common in the woods of Guam ; and the face of the country presents numberless beautifully diversified landscapes, consisting of lawns, high woody hills, and vallies in excellent cultivation. The prin-

* At Tinian, near Guam, Anson and his crew lived several weeks on the fruit of the rima.—See his Voyages.

cipal town, at the distance of four leagues in the country, is situated on the north-west of the island, on the border of a considerable river, at the mouth of which ships may anchor, but the road is by no means one of the best.

Having taken in fresh water and provisions, and received the late governor on board ; we again put to sea on the 15th of June, and as it was now the season of the periodical rains, we quitted Guam with little regret. We stood west and a quarter north-west, with a gentle breeze from the east, but on the 25th the wind changed to the north, accompanied with frequent calms. We had hitherto enjoyed an excellent passage, and were now only an hundred leagues from the Phillippine Isles ; but here the sky became suddenly overcast, and the weather rough and tempestuous. On the 30th the wind blew with increasing violence, the squalls became more frequent, and the atmosphere appeared every where loaded with black lowering clouds. Early on the 8th of July the wind shifted to the south, and for the space of seven days blew a furious storm, in
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the course of which we lost a part of our rudder, and suffered in other respects considerable damage. On other occasions, I have been exposed to winds of equal violence, but in my experience as a seaman I never saw them convulse the elements in the same sublimely great and awful manner. On the 27th the storm abated, and the weather clearing up, we found we had been carried greatly to the northward of our course. Having regulated our course in the best manner we could, considering the state of the atmosphere, on the 24th we discovered land, which we took for the island Samar, where it borders on the streights of San Juannico. It was now a month since we had been able to take an observation of the sun; and we perceived we were considerably to the south of Cape Spiritu Santo, after which we intended to have directed our course. Upon our approaching land we had at one time a dead calm, at another a perfect storm, the current meanwhile hurrying us rapidly towards the south-south-west. The weather becoming again violently tempestuous, we were obliged to stand out to sea, and contend with

with a second storm; which, however, lasted only five days, and was in no respect to be compared with the former. Having at length come in view of Cape Spiritu Santo, we made towards the shore: and as the boisterous west winds now prevailed, and we were still a hundred leagues from Manilla, across a dangerous Archipelago, it was thought unadvisable to attempt this navigation so late in the season. It was therefore resolved to put in, and winter on the island Samar; and accordingly, on the 1st of August, having entered a spacious road formed by three islands at the mouth of a river which is named Palapa, from an adjacent village, we came to an anchor in seven fathoms water.

The landing-place at Cape Spiritu Santo, is to be distinguished by means of a high flat-topped mountain, which appears in the west of it, and is named *Mensa*, or the Table of Palapa. Here the land recedes from the eye towards the place where we moored, which is about six leagues west from the cape. As the ship approaches the shore, the pilot may observe a cluster of little hills
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in the shape of sugar-loaves on the main land, and close to the island Quiprau, the most eastward of the three above-mentioned. The island Cagayagan is situated to the west, and that of Lawan to the south of it, and consequently nearer the main land. Between Quiprau and the shore is the north-east mouth of the Palapa, which is indeed the widest; but, besides being deficient in depth of water, it is much embarrassed with many dangerous rocks. It is therefore adviseable to go on, keeping the land at the distance of three leagues; and as soon as you have passed the island Quiprau, the proper entrance to the road opens to view. Two prominent points, however, extending from these islands in sunk rocks and sand-banks about a league into the sea, which may be seen from the mast's head, sometimes of a light, and sometimes of a dark colour, render it necessary to stretch a little more to the north-east. Steering south-south-east, you will presently enter between the two islands, then keep the cape immediately over a little uninhabited island, which is used as a burying-ground by the Indians. Here
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the ship enters a noble road, four leagues in length and two in breadth; but if it is her purpose to winter at Samar, she ought to proceed to the south-east mouth of Palapa, where she will lie in equal security as in any harbour in the world. The watering place is south from the entrance, and upon the island Lawan, the only one of the three that is inhabited.

The first refreshments we received from this island we might be properly said to devour; for as soon as it began to blow we were reduced to the short allowance of five ounces of biscuit, and a small portion of rain-water, which was corrupted by the waves breaking over the ship and mixing with our stores during the storm. As we were entirely uncertain, in case we should miss the road of Palapa, of the duration of our passage, the galleon's company found it their interest as well as duty to acquiesce in this diminution of their subsistence. But this country, so abundant in every good thing, soon effaced the remembrance of all those dangers and hardships from which we had just escaped. The galleon was now

surrounded with numberless canoes, mingled with little vessels named champan, which contained a plentiful supply of provisions from Samar.

The champan is a vessel in use among these Indians, as well as the inhabitants of the whole coast which borders on the Chinese gulph, I mean from China to the kingdom of Malacca, and from Sumatra to the islands of Japan. It is short, broad, and very high, having one mast towards the head, and another towards the stern. The rudder made hollow, to prevent its being heavy and unwieldy, has more surface than that of a hundred and twenty gun ship. Little cots of bamboo appear in three divisions on deck, but disposed in such a manner as to leave a clear space before each mast. These vessels, however, the largest of which had three masts, and was made to carry five hundred tons, are much better sailors than an European would be apt to imagine. The natives of these islands are still strangers to the use of flags, and content themselves with a sort of streamer at the top of the main-mast.

C H A P. XX.

The Author embarks in an Indian Canoe for Manilla—is driven to the beach of a barren Island to seek Shelter from a Storm—the Dress and Armour of the native Indians described—they exhibit a Sham Fight—he meets with a hospitable Reception from them—Arrival at Lawan—Description of this Village, from whence the Author proceeds to Catarman.

WE were now riding safely at anchor in the mouth of the Palapa ; and I began to think of proceeding by the most expeditious means in my power directly to Manilla. Had I been able to accomplish my first idea, I should have been obliged to travel thither chiefly by land. Upon inquiry I found that the western point of Samar is separated from the east coast of Luconia only by a strait of five leagues ; and there being among the canoes which first joined the galleon, one belonging to the natives of a little island in the vicinity of this strait, I proposed to avail

myself of their contiguity to Luconia; and accordingly, having obtained leave to accompany them on their return, I embarked on board their canoe. This little bark was of a homely construction, and by far too low in the timbers for the open sea. A split bamboo, whose two limbs united above, sunk into a plank of wood fastened to the boat, served for masts and shrouds. The sail was a sheet of leaves coarsely sewed together; and the rigging had been made wholly from the bark of trees. A rude branch having two wooden claws, and in some degree shaped like our own, was in lieu of an anchor. The cables consisted of different shoots of the routan plant laid together, and bound or hooped, not bruised and twisted like those used by the Chinese. A hand-spike, with a piece of board fixed to its end, performed the office of an oar. Four large bamboos, disposed in the form of a picture-frame, and placed across the canoe, were intended to regulate her motion; and a massy stone in each extremity of the hull served for ballast. But still this very simple piece of mechanism tended to the same purpose

as that of the most improved transport in Europe.

Having put off from the galleon, I began to reflect on my situation; and was extremely at a loss whether I had most reason to admire or dread the rude industry of my companions. I got rid of my disquietude as soon as possible, and at last became charmed with the novelty of the objects around me. We had reached the open sea, and were rowing westward upon a point of land about the distance of two leagues, when we were all of a sudden overtaken by a storm: happily it was of short continuance, but it ended in an abundant fall of rain, which in a few moments had almost filled the canoe. We baled her with all possible expedition; and escaped without suffering any other hardship, than that of being drenched to the skin; meanwhile our little bark went swiftly through the waves, and it was not long before we arrived at our intended haven.

Here we joined a number of canoes, and a crowd of Indians on the beach, who, like ourselves, had been glad to make the best of their way from the violence of the gale.

Some of these savages had stripped off their shirts in order to preserve them from the wet, and rolled up their large breeches above the loins; others were dressed in a sort of bodice, descending from the arm-pits to the middle of the thigh, and a wide cloak, which served as a covering to their shoulders. The whole of their dress was made from a sort of stuff consisting of woody fibres, woven in the loom of nature, and found in their forests adhering to the bark of the cocoa-tree. On their heads was worn a round hat, resembling the scale of a balance, only a little more convex. It was composed of nipe-leaves, attached by their twigs, as edging to the circumference of a hoop, in such a manner that all their points united in the center. The skin of the routan twisted into a fillet, and applied to the lower surface of the scale, embraced the head, and formed the crown of the hat. In short, what with the fresh verdure of the hat, and the dusky brown colour and coarse fabric of the cloak and bodice, presenting in a scaly series the arrangement of the various parts, these Indians might have passed
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in a warm imagination for the Genii of the woods.

Their armour was a bad sword or cou-teau-de-chasse, which is named *cris*, or *campilan*, and a long target, intended for the defence of the whole body. They now prepared to exhibit, by way of amusement, a sham fight, in which, as they evaded or repelled the blows of the enemy, they displayed a thousand strange contortions behind their shields. The retreat, as well as the assault, was accompanied by leaps and screams of a most extraordinary and inhuman nature. The noise and tumult of the storm seemed to inspire them with an ecstasy of joy; for, having fixed their eyes on a cloud, whence had just issued a flash of lightning or peal of thunder, they set up a yelling and clamour, which probably denoted their triumph, but which were little calculated to excite similar sentiments in my breast. During all this time I sat under a rock, where I had taken shelter from a heavy fall of rain, and opened my eyes wide to gaze on so wonderful a spectacle. A peculiar novelty in the appearance and behaviour of these sa-

vages, joined to my total ignorance of their language, suspended in some degree the usual exercise of my faculties. I now awaked as from a dream, and asked myself the meaning of those enthusiastic expressions of joy. Are they the wanton effusions of cruel and barbarous dispositions? or are they merely the idle and intemperate bluster of levity and courage? I flattered myself I had been able to distinguish the peculiar symptoms of the latter, and began to be under less concern for my personal safety. Still, however, I could not help recollecting the jealousy I had seen entertained of them by the galleon's company; a jealousy which prevented their being admitted on board, except in very small numbers, and which I found to originate in their supposed alliance with the wild Mahometans and savage Indians of the Phillippine Archipelago. Hitherto they had not deigned to take the smallest notice of me, and therefore I became afraid, lest they should be still in a barbarous and wandering state of savage life, and enemies to the Spaniards, and that all I had yet seen was only the prelude to a human sacrifice.

By and bye, they were joined by others in less extraordinary apparel, who, after surveying me from head to foot, presented me with a dish of rice. My mind was still in a state of agitation, but in my present situation I had too much occasion for a friend, not to take what was offered me with every possible expression of gratitude.

This rice was dressed in a piece of bamboo, pierced in the manner of a sieve, which, being covered with a lid, is inclosed in another of a larger size, and containing a certain quantity of water. The outer vessel being made close in like manner, the whole is placed over a slow fire; and as the water is absorbed by the rice in the action of boiling, so the surface of the bamboo, which is applied to the fire, is prevented from being consumed by the humidity it imbibes from within. Whenever they have occasion for a fire, it is obtained by the simple method of rubbing two pieces of bamboo against one another.

The storm abated, and we again embarked in our canoe, quitting a barren island, my short abode on which made such
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an impression on my mind, that at this moment it occurs to my recollection like a fairy tale. We proceeded westward, through a channel formed by this and another island nearer the main land; but though I saw many canoes passing and repassing between the galleon and the adjacent islands, I could not perceive a single hut, nor the smallest vestige of cultivation. Having passed a strait lying between two points of these islands, we entered the main sea, and coasted westward. We were deterred from venturing to any considerable distance from land, by reason of the small size and frail condition of our canoe; and this consideration inducing us to keep near the breakers, we were at times in danger of being overset by the waves. We rowed round a sharp point of land, and saw through the trees, a village named Lawan, which, with a church and convent, is protected by a little fort erected on an eminence near the shore. The huts of the Indians were scattered over a neighbouring wood, which, from an extreme luxuriance of soil, was become thick and difficult of access. These Indian habi-
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tations I could compare to nothing with equal propriety as to so many bird cages; which being either square and grated with the bamboo, or oblong and open to the day, were perched upon stakes; and, owing to the motion of the people within, in a constant state of vacillation, which produced to the eye of a spectator the usual effects of birds in a cage.

At landing I went to pay my respects to the parish priest, who was a jesuit, as indeed at that time were all the ecclesiastics of these islands. He received me with some civility, and here I ate, for the first time, the eggs of a bird named *tabon*, which are as large as those of a goose, though laid by an animal no bigger than a turtle-dove. When the female *tabon* is about to lay, she makes a deep winding hole in the sand, and having deposited her egg, instantly fills it up, and smooths over the surface as before. In due time the heat of the sun having hatched the eggs, the chicks begin to scratch their way towards the light; but as it often happens that in this effort they scratch either down-

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ward or horizontally, they are suffocated in numbers in the sand.

Departing from Lawan at sun-set, in order to enjoy the calm of the evening, we rowed still westward along the shore, directing our course to Catarman. My Indians were excellent rowers; and the canoe making good way, we proceeded twelve leagues before the dawn of the morning. I was, however, by no means at ease with respect to my companions; for though a stranger to their language, I could easily perceive that their conversation often had a reference to me; and at one time, under the colour of their usual signs and gestures, pressing upon me with rude familiarity, they seemed, as I apprehended, to have a design upon my pockets. It is possible, however, that in the then feverish state of my mind I may have misinterpreted their designs; although they still appear to me a little more than equivocal. Persevering in my purpose of sailing in the only vessel which goes from Manilla to the harbour of Canton during the season, I was prepared to meet with patience and constancy every species of danger. Soon after

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ter my arrival at Catarman, I learned that in the course of the night we had made a providential escape; for near certain rocks, and at the precise hour we must have passed them, the Mahometan pirates had taken and pillaged three canoes, and carried their crews into captivity. This news was reported by a few of the hands, who, favoured by the obscurity of the night, had been able to make their escape by swimming. I was besides informed, that the Indians by whom I was accompanied were natives of *Capul*, an island which for a long time, without either priest or governor, had renounced every kind of intercourse with Europeans. It was added, that these islanders not only afford an asylum to Mahometans, but even assist them in committing depredations on their neighbours; and hence I conjectured that the enemy's having observed and recognized their companions, might be the true reason that we had not shared the unhappy fate of the other canoes.

C H A P. XXI.

The Author is hospitably entertained at Catarman—the Coast is infested by Moorish Pirates—Return to Samar—Description of this Island—harsh and despotic Government of the Jesuit Missionaries.

AT Catarman I was lodged in the house of an ecclesiastic, who was of the same order with the former; and though I cannot say the reception I met with was uncivil, yet it was accompanied with a disagreeable stateliness of manner. He was busily employed in giving audience to his people, in settling their differences, and in prescribing rules and regulations for the good order of his flock. Towards evening a boy, who appeared to be a domestic, requested that I would pass into an adjacent room, and repose myself on the sofa. I obeyed, and followed him; but we had no sooner entered the apartment, than he took his leave, and locked the door behind him.

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I presently heard much noise and bustle of company in the parlour I had just quitted, and above all the voice of my friend the jesuit; he having made an harangue, obliged certain persons to make an apology to others, who, from the tremulous tone of their voices, seemed to have attained the infirmities of old age. His address became still more animated, while his questions generally terminated in the word *mangateau*, which, in the language of the natives, signifies *thing*. The ceremony ended in a severe castigation, the report of which was sufficiently audible. The idea of the inquisition instantly presented itself to my mind, and I remained not a little confounded. At supper, however, in rendering some account of his judicial functions, he gave me an opportunity of inquiring whether the discipline he inflicted on his flock regarded matters of religion, or merely their temporal concerns. He assured me, and from the apparent candour of his character I am not inclined to question his sincerity, that it was nothing more than the exercise of civil police, and had

had no concern whatever with the objects of their belief.

Catarman in the language of Samar signifies cape or promontory; and this place being only fourteen leagues from Palapa, there still remained eight or ten to Luconia. It was now my earnest desire to sail directly to this island, but the straits of San Bernardino, which I was necessarily to pass, being infested by cruisers belonging to the Mahometans and Indians of Mindanao, Holo, Borneo, Paragoa, and other places situated between the Phillippine and Molucca isles, no person was to be found who would undertake to be my conductor. Here I dismissed my Indians of Capul, for after the accounts I had just received of their countrymen, I would not venture to trust myself longer in their hands. The very name of the Mahometans who infest the coasts of the Bissayan, as well as of those of the Luconian isles, seems to inspire the Catholic Indians with extreme terror. Hence the pirates have the insolence to appear on shore; and frequently carry off the inhabitants of Luconia from under the very walls

walls of Manilla without opposition. But besides the imminent danger of falling into the hands of the ferocious Musselmén, I received many accounts, probably exaggerated, of the extreme difficulty of travelling by land from San Bernardino to the city of Manilla. This was represented as a journey of one hundred and fifty leagues, through a country which, in the present season of the year, would scarcely be attempted by a native, who is commonly little scrupulous of pursuing his way up to the girdle in mire. It was alledged, as an additional aggravation, that in the whole of that country not a single beast is to be found for the purpose of the saddle, except buffaloes, and they only in very few places. But on the other hand, if I were to wait the sailing of the galleon in the end of winter, I should renounce all hopes of going in the only vessel which sails from Manilla to Canton in the course of the season. Such were the reflections which engaged my mind, when the sentinels stationed on the cape, as well as the adjacent heights, gave notice by their bell-drums that the Moorish canoes were in view. The

bell-drum, better known perhaps in Europe by the name *tamtam*, consists of a sheet of metal about half an inch in thickness, and resembles the *tambour-de-basque*, only that the surface of the former has a small space in the middle, concave on one side and convex on the other; and though inaudible beyond the distance of four hundred paces, owing perhaps to the number of vibrations, its sound is more universally diffused within those bounds than would be that of a real bell. This instrument hangs suspended from the neck, and is beaten on the convex side with a kind of drumstick muffled in a slip of cloth. The appearance of the Mahometans, or Moors, as they are named by the Spaniards, at different times since my arrival, had excited much consternation in the minds of the inhabitants; and now, having no option but to abandon my design of proceeding immediately to Manilla, after a short stay on this island I returned to my friends at Palapa.

Upon my arrival at Samar, I found that, except the crew, not one person remained in the galleon, and, therefore, the village, which

which might consist of a hundred houses, was completely filled by the passengers. I was fortunate enough, however, to find tolerable accommodation, and was enabled to pass my time on this island in a manner much to my liking. Palapa is situated on a river, as already mentioned, of the same name, at the distance of two leagues from the sea; and the sight of the galleon having attracted the Indians of Catarman, Lawan, Catuby, Ubi, and other villages to the extent of fifteen leagues, it was seen at present to great advantage.

On the southern shore, opposite to the isle of *Leyte*, stands the capital of the island, named *Cabalongua*, which is the residence of the governor, commonly the only lay Spaniard in Samar. I met with nothing particular in the productions of *Cabalongua*, except a species of St. Ignatius's bean, called in the language of the natives, *pepitas de Cabalongua*. The houses of the inhabitants are constructed of the bamboo, and thatched with the leaves of the *nipe*, a shrub as common as it is useful in those parts. The leaves, being doubled and sewed to a small

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reed, are disposed on the roof in imitation of European flating. The body of the building is raised to some height above the ground, and rests on a floor of split bamboos, the arrangement of which is so contrived as to have the appearance of a close grating. One object of this floor is to permit a circulation of air, as well as the escape of vapours exhaled from the soil; circumstances of great benefit to the health of the inhabitants.

From the arrival to the sailing of the galleon my time was chiefly spent at Cartaman, Lawan, or Palapa, which, like all the other villages in those islands, have each a little fortress, including the church, in order that upon the first appearance of the Moors, the inhabitants, with their most valuable effects, may resort thither for safety.

The natives, especially such as reside on the sea coast, were formerly Mahometans; but the missionary Jesuits having converted them to the religion and allegiance of Spain, now exercise over them an authority almost unlimited. For the most trivial offences, infants, children, men, women, old and young,

young, without distinction of rank, age, or sex, are subjected to the discipline of the whip; and the ascendancy acquired by the clergy over the minds of the people in their respective parishes is such, that the Indian, after receiving his punishment with humble submission, thanks the Jesuit for his good offices, and departs fully satisfied of the necessity of a bastinado, which nothing but a zeal for his welfare could have induced the priest to inflict. The censure of the church is in general attended with real penitence on the part of the offender; who, as I was assured, is rarely known to relapse into the same fault. Punishment is always executed in public; and every one being aware that from human frailty he is equally liable to discipline, flagellation stamps no disgrace on the character of the delinquent. The Jesuits are at great pains to instruct the people in matters of religion; and hence, besides the ordinary festivals of the church, two days of the week are set apart for divine service, in which the Indian celebrates the praises of his Creator with such melody, unction, and ingenuous simplicity, as bestow real subli-

mity on the exercises of his devotion. I was present at the parochial feast, which was observed with much apparent piety by the Indians, though in a manner consonant to the genius of the Spaniards. In the morning the banners of the Virgin, St. Ignatius, and St. Francis, were displayed from the bastions of the castle, and saluted at the rising and setting of the sun by a discharge of artillery. On this occasion it had been formerly customary to give the Indians a ball in the church, but this religious dance having been found to terminate sometimes in irregularities, it was now abolished.— I return to the character of the parochial clergy.

The Jesuit, by means of confession, has access to the most secret thoughts of the Indian, who, in the simplicity of his heart, submits, not only his offences, but every thing that is either the object of his hope or fear, to the ear of his pastor. Advice and admonition on the part of the priest, are always accompanied with some small present, consisting of wine, medicine, liquor, or animal food ; and thus, by min-

gling kindness with severity, and rewards with punishment, the natives are gradually reclaimed from their ignorance and misconduct. Like good children, they learn to regard the missionary as one sent from Heaven to conduct them, by the paths of peace and innocence, to temporal as well as eternal happiness. He acquires in their minds all the rights and consequence of an earthly parent, whom nature authorizes to establish the principles of virtue and good order in his family. Hence, in situations of common danger, he is their leader by sea and land; and, on account of his superior wisdom and courage, is looked up to as a strong tower against the invasion and inroads of the Mahometans. It is the prerogative of each missionary in his own parish to issue orders for building or repairing the fort, for providing it with cannon and ammunition, and for the construction of war-canoes, which he frequently commands in person. He appoints all subordinate officers, presides over the discipline of the militia, regulates the number of guards, and even directs the sentinel to his proper post. Lastly, the clergy

of Samar are the friends as well as the pastors, the temporal as well as the spiritual leaders of their flock ; and among them I was unable to discover either the imperious bigot, or the low Levite who earns the emoluments of his profession by a studied accommodation of his life to the taste and humour of his superiors.

I am no friend to the exorbitant power of the church ; but whatever be the ultimate views of monastic policy, good perhaps, in some respects, and bad in others, I must say, that on this island it seems to have a happy influence on the real interests of the people. The maxims the jesuits observe in their conduct here, seem, in matters both of a civil and spiritual nature, much to resemble those exercised by their brethren in the missions of Paraguay ; though the product of the people's industry being permitted to remain in their own hands, and at their own disposal, is a circumstance much to the credit of the former. I cannot conclude my encomium on these men, without observing, that in a situation where the extreme attachment of the natives to their pastors

tors might with little encouragement have given occasion to all the evils of violence and insurrection, I saw them meet the edict for the abolition of their order with the deference due to civil authority, but at the same time with a strength and firmness of mind truly manly and heroic. There now only remain in the dominions of Spain the jesuits of the Marian isles, whom we had no authority to molest; and in America, those of California, whom the natives, under different pretences, had hitherto contrived to retain in the country. As to such as were formerly scattered over the other parts of New Spain, they had long since taken their passage for Europe.

C H A P. XXII.

*Productions and natural History of Samar,
and the other Phillipine Islands—various
Particulars respecting the Inhabitants.*

IN this island the soil is extremely fertile, easily cultivated, and rewards the industry of the husbandman at least forty fold. Besides other grain, the Indians sow a considerable quantity of rice, which is wholly intended for the use of the parochial clergy, the settlement of Manilla, and the governor of the province. The common food of the natives consists chiefly in a species of potatoe, yams, and a root named *gaby*. Agreeably to the example of the Indians, I lived entirely on roots, whose saccharine taste is more pleasant than the uniform insipidity of boiled rice. At first they seemed heavy and flatulent, but soon became familiar to my stomach; and I was convinced in the end that they are more nutritive to the body, as well as more relishing to the taste. I had likewise for my consumption a good deal of pork, which

which is smaller, and runs more in filaments than our's. This flesh, though black, and consisting of strong fibres, like those of the ox, is much sweeter, and by no means difficult of digestion. The Indian has a surprising dexterity at discovering the tabon's nest, and is sometimes so lucky as to light upon no fewer than forty in one hoard; but from the short experience I had of this aliment, I thought it heavy and indigestible. From the sap of the cocoa, nipe, and cabonegro-trees, they obtain the materials for an excellent species of brandy. The last of these owes its name to the black colour of its fibres, which are manufactured by the natives into cables, and different kinds of cordage. Another article of Indian food is the substance of the cocoa-nut, which is eaten in the first stage of congelation; for after it becomes solid, and acquires, in some degree, the taste of a fresh almond, it ceases to be equally digestible.

The only instrument used by the Indian, either for the purposes of war or industry, is a *couteau-de-chasse*, named, as is above mentioned, *cris*, or *campilan*; an instrument
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which, after serving him against the enemy, enables him to cut down the largest tree of the wood, to be formed into a canoe, or split into deals for more ordinary uses. When the campilan has been so much worn as to be of little farther service, it is still employed by the women to grub up a light soil, in which they plant yams, potatoes, and other roots. In the space of two months these are dug up in a state of maturity, and of a wonderful size, insomuch that within the compass of eighty yards the Indian finds his annual supply of these articles for the maintenance of a numerous family.

Sugar-canes, cabbages, garlic, onions, melons, Chinese-oranges, lemons, vegetables, and, though in small quantity, several other kinds of fruit, little known in Europe, are cultivated on this island. It abounds in figs, of which I reckoned no fewer than thirteen or fourteen different species, with a great variety of perfumes. The natives are instructed to give particular attention to the culture of the cocoa-tree, which grows here to an uncommon size. Their woods produce the *pamplamous*, a species of orange nearly
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five inches in diameter, pepper, honey, and wax. Indeed, all these islands are eminently distinguished by the labours of the bee; and hence, I have seldom made an excursion into the woods without meeting with numbers of bee-hives, suspended in the form of oblong gourds from the branches of trees.

The bounty of Nature to Samar is no less visible in the variety and excellence of its game. The woods swarm with birds of almost every description, particularly the common fowl, which is distinguished, however, from our's by the shortened proportions of her body and legs. The colour of the hen is grey, with feathers spotted like a partridge. There are three different species of turtle-dove; the first grey, and as large as a pullet; the second seems, however, to be only a dwarfish breed of the first; the third is green, and when prepared for the table affords a delicious food. I met with a bird, peculiar, I believe, to these islands, named calao, as large as a goose, and agreeable to the taste, but extremely shy and difficult of approach. He frequents low fenny grounds,
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perches on the tallest trees, and flits through the air with singular rapidity. This bird may be distinguished by a large red oblong crown, which seems to be of the same substance with, and indeed only a continuation of his bill. This ornament, added to his size, gives him a majestic air. The feathers are black, mixed with a dusky red. I had the good fortune to obtain a very beautiful head of the calao, which I had the honour to present to the academy of sciences at Paris. The parroquet, cockatoo, and another pretty little species of the same genus, no larger than a linnet, are surprisingly plenty. There is also found here a very small bird of the diminutive size of a wasp, whose colours, consisting in a shade of yellow, mixed with red and blue, are peculiarly vivid and beautiful. Many kinds of monkeys, one of which is remarkably large, roe-bucks, wild buffaloes, and other quadrupeds, abound in the woods. I was told a great deal concerning the difference of size; and peculiar qualities of their serpents, but I confess I saw none either so extremely large, or surprisingly small,

small, as to justify the reports of the natives.

In these favoured isles, Nature seems to have been providently mindful of the cloathing, as well as of the subsistence of the inhabitants. The foot of a tall species of the *fig-bannan* consists of numberless folds of bark, which, at a certain period of putrefaction, are separable without art or difficulty. These pieced together afford a species of fine linen, harsh indeed, and disagreeable to the skin, in its natural state, but which they have learned to render sufficiently soft and pliable by a preparation of lime. Besides serving for linen, it is likewise useful for the purposes of cordage.

Man, lastly, is fed, cloathed, and lodged, in Samar at little toil, either of mind or body. The rivers are every where shaded with the bamboo, and the woods supply him with the nipe and routan, two shrubs which are made to answer all the purposes of nails; and such is the dexterity of the Indians in uniting the different pieces of bamboo, that in the whole construction of his hut neither iron nor any other metal is to be found.

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Two months industry in the course of the year suffices to provide for the wants of the people, whose innocent and gentle manners are to me the strongest proof of the real happiness they enjoy.

The deportment of the men is easy, open, and affable; the women are gay and lively, and possess in some degree the flippancy of the coquette, without, however, being inclined to vice. The Indian has little propensity to labour, but he cannot be accused of avoiding it when any emergency renders it expedient. Vanity and lying are the only immoralities I could discover among them; and, though I have not found them prone either to jealousy or theft, they seemed, however, considerably keen in their dealings with Europeans. I am disposed to believe that the Indian possesses a sensibility of mind particularly nice and delicate, having observed in the exercise of his friendships a warmth and openness of heart which I have not discovered in an equal degree in any other people.

The common salute between the sexes, and of affection among relations, is here preceded

preceded by a gentle aspiration of incense on that part of the face to which the lips are meant to be applied. The Bissayan Indians in general discover a natural taste for music, and a genius for the mechanic arts; and I am convinced that nothing but want of education prevents their attaining a high degree of eminence in these pursuits. The flexibility of their nerves and muscles may, perhaps, scarcely be credited; but the fact is, that they handle small objects with their feet with equal ease and dexterity as we do with our hands; and can exert a force in pinching with their toes, not less than that of an European when he pinches with his fingers. With the assistance of his campilan alone, the Indian makes his violin or guitar, cuts down the largest tree in the forest, and and shapes and hollows it into the form of a canoe. At one time it is used to carve on the bamboo designs of no mean effect, for the ornament of his house; at another, it is turned against the enemy for personal defence. This, in short, seems to be the only edged tool known, or at least in use, among the Indians of Samar.

Among their productions of art, the Indian mat merits particular notice: it is a species of manufacture of such fineness, that a piece of six feet went easily into my pocket. It is executed in various handsome designs, and painted with very lively and elegant colours, which they have the art of extracting from different trees.

Silk, cotton, and the fibres of the fig-bannan above-mentioned, furnish the Indian with the raw materials for his best manufactures in cloth. He makes a kind of lace, and embroiders his silk stuffs with surprising elegance and address. Every family is provided with a loom, for domestic purposes. At sea the Indian is a ship's carpenter, a sail-maker, and a caulker; on land, a rope-maker, and a ship-builder: but though he exercises occasionally almost all the mechanic arts for his amusement or convenience, he is never found to confine himself to one of them, exclusively of the rest. I was informed, but with what degree of certainty I will not pretend to affirm, that even the art of writing with a kind of pencil on the

the leaves of the cocoa-tree, once existed in this island.

They have a custom, implied in the word *massarer*, of cracking the joints, and rubbing the flesh all over the body, which, as they conceive, tends to promote the free circulation of the blood, and obviate humours. That of rubbing the limbs of children with oil is likewise common; usages which, as they are not peculiar to them, but prevalent over the whole continent of Asia, may be presumed to have long been found to have a salutary effect. In place of cupping they use severe pinchings on the neck and shoulders, which they continue to exercise until they are satisfied they have attained their end. They let blood by means of incisions made in the skin; and as to physic, they are wonderfully versant in the virtues of many flowers, balms, and plants, the use and application of which they owe to nature and their own experience alone.

Large trowsers, which descend below the calf of the leg, a shirt falling over them to the middle of the thigh, and a handkerchief twisted round the head in the manner of a

turban, constitute their ordinary dress. On occasions of ceremony they appear in their round hat, and banyan or a bedgown, consisting of silk and cotton. Thick short fingers, and long nails on the middle, and little ones, are esteemed highly becoming, insomuch that I have observed them in different persons full two inches in length. The women wear an apron, which, after passing several times round the waist, falls down to the toe; and some a petticoat so very fine and transparent, that modesty obliges them to tuck up a corner of it to the fore part of the girdle, whereby one leg is completely exposed. Their shift descends only to the top of the hip; and the head-dress differs but little from that of the men, except that they roll their hair high upon the head, so as in some degree to give it the appearance of a crown. If to these we add a gown worn only on extraordinary occasions, I have mentioned every article of their apparel.

The hair of both sexes is remarkably fine, particularly that of the women: they comb it with great care, and anoint it frequently
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with oil of the cocoat-nut, in order to strengthen and render it of a deep black. The nose is short and depressed, but the nostrils are by no means dilated like those of the negro; nor, indeed, have I often observed an ugly or ill-favoured woman on these islands. The features are small, and not always regular; but they have beautiful eyes, and faces uncommonly expressive and interesting. They use pitchers of the bamboo; and some have a light sort of leaf-hat, similar to what is worn by Indians of the first distinction. One of the most beautiful objects, in my opinion, that can meet the eye of a painter, is a fine young Indian female on her way to fetch water from the well. The large leaf-hat, the delicate drapey of the thin transparent petticoat, and a light bamboo-pitcher in each hand, give a surprising grace and dignity to her person. In the remote parts of the country, and especially at a distance from the missionaries, persons of both sexes go nearly naked.

The natives of Samar have fish in plenty and variety from their rivers, as well as the
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sea coast, the latter of which supplies them likewise with very elegant pearls; and their manner of fishing, from its singularity; merits notice:—There is a pea of an intoxicating quality, named *coco*, found in the island, which being reduced to a powder, is scattered by the Indian, at low water, over the sand. Upon the return of the tide, the fish which have taken the bait appear floating in a state of insensibility on the surface of the water, and are picked up with ease in what numbers the fisherman judges convenient.

The iron-tree, ebony, and dyeing-wood, grow in every part of the island; and gold-dust is found in some quantities in its more interior regions; but the monks, in their concern for the morals of the people, have been careful to take this dangerous branch of traffic into their own hands. The Spaniards themselves are forbidden to reside in the Indian villages, under the pretext of protecting the innocence of the natives from the corruption of European manners. The council at Manilla, however, has lately restrained,

strained, by various regulations, the exorbitant power assumed by the clergy in these islands.

C H A P. XXIII.

The natural Advantages of Samar are of a very superior Kind—innocent Manners of the Natives—Depredations committed on the Spaniards by the piratical Moors—the Sea-fights of the latter described—Conclusions drawn from the Languages of the Phillipine Islands, and the Manners of the Inhabitants.

IT would require the elegant genius of a Virgil or a Theocritus, to make the reader conceive the natural advantages of Samar—the country, of all those I have yet seen, or that perhaps exist in this planet, the most eminently beautiful. How often have I envied the Bissayans (for, except the natives of Luconia, it is thus they name all the inhabitants of the Phillippine isles) the happy

retirement of this little insular paradise ! If in the province of Tegas the mind of the traveller is constantly roused and agitated by objects of grandeur and magnificence, in the island of Samar he is soothed and enchanted with an elegant and rich display of simple beauty. In the former, the eye flits in succession over Nature's stupendous works, from the noble but gloomy forest, to the widely extended plain, bounded by the distant horizon, and thence to rivers and lakes, the noise and vast surface of whose waters are formed to impress the mind with the awful majesty of the Creator. In the latter are emanations of his goodness, springs, fountains, and rivulets ; landscapes elegantly composed by various blendings of woods and lawns, curiously intersecting each other as they seem to float over the varied aspect of the soil. Woods, it is true, without the extent and magnitude of the Tegan forest, but which, enlivened by the blossoms of spring, or loaded with autumnal fruits, yield balsam to the wounds, and odours for the refreshment of the natives. The wild bee-hive suspended from branches ;
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the air highly perfumed with a fragrant species of wild jessamine, and the sweet roses of China; every thing, in short, presents Nature in adolescence, such as she exists before the folly and caprice of man have learned to disfigure or efface her native charms.

Here I was often at a loss to determine which had most claim to my admiration, the beauty of the country, or the innocent manners of the natives. Having travelled half round the globe, I had become less addicted to local and illiberal partialities, and in some measure sensible how little the narrow prejudices of education accord with the sentiments of an open and candid mind. Hence, if I envied the Bissayan's country, I was still more covetous of his society, of that sincerity visible in the whole tenour of his conduct, and above all of that serenity of mind little exhibited in the more polished circles of modern Europe. I surveyed with satisfaction the smallest of Nature's works, which the levity of a refined imagination has in no instance taught the Bissayan either to impair or destroy. My heart was enchanted

chanted in attendance on their religious worship, which is accompanied with a simple but interesting and expressive species of music. Under these and similar impressions, I became particularly disposed to acknowledge the goodness of Divine Providence, which had led me as it were by the hand through all my wanderings; and my thoughts being turned towards religion in general, I gave more attention than usual to my own.

The language of Christianity teaches us to ascribe to the Divine Mind the attribute of excellence unknown to any other religious system. In the New Testament he is represented equally transcending in meekness, gentleness, and humility, as in power, wisdom, and majesty; and not less great and adorable for the examples of his condescension, than for that astonishing grandeur displayed in the number and magnitude of his works. By other religions he has been portrayed as the object of awe and terror; by our's he is revealed in the amiable character of brother and friend, as well as of law-giver and judge. Qualified, therefore,
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to quiet the fears, to encourage the hopes, and in one word to constitute the happiness of all who submit to its precepts in the same honesty and simplicity with the good Bissayans, the elements of the Christian scheme establish, in their uniform spirit and tendency, an unquestionable claim to the universal belief and acceptance of mankind.

The Moors, or Mahometan Indians, have little other employment than that of committing depredations on the Spaniards. At Borneo, and sometimes Batavia, these pirates find a market for their prisoners; and I saw with no little surprize, at a Dutch settlement, the free subjects of Spain reduced to the wretched condition of slaves. The Mahometan in his hostile pursuits is actuated by a daring and intrepid spirit; and as he is generally the Spaniard's superior in numbers, an attempt to board always accompanies his first onset. In order first to clear the deck of his antagonist, the Moor begins the battle by a shower of *zigays*, or small darts, which he pours upon the heads of his enemy, and instantly springs on board with his campilan or sword in hand. These barbarians

barians are but little acquainted with the use of fire-arms, and have only a few guns, which have accidentally fallen into their hands in the course of their wars with Europeans. In this respect they are widely different from their brethren in the neighbourhood of the Dutch settlements, who have established a rude manufacture of muskets on several of their islands, and are in general greatly before them in improvement. I was much pleased in observing, as often as I could, the infant industry of this archipelago, whose inhabitants are only emerging from a total ignorance of the arts, by means of the information they derive from Europeans and Chinese. The vessel employed by the Mahometans in their cruises against the Spaniards is named *bouanga*, and is probably the same with the *proa* of Commodore Anson, which he saw in the Marian isles, and which is particularly described in his voyage. Conjecturing from the velocity with which it was seen to cross the horizon, he could not suppose the rate of the *bouanga* or *proa*'s sailing to be less than seven or eight leagues an hour.

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The Chinese in their commercial pursuits were used to visit, in the course of the fine season, the principal islands of this archipelago; but the Europeans having been long at war with the natives, the necessity of being in a state of preparation has corrupted the character of the Indians, and taught them to prefer a kind of piratical industry to the exercise of a fair trade. The Moors are attached to the service of certain chiefs, who pay tribute to Holo, Borneo, or some other considerable islands; and many of them have their residence and possessions in the islands of a small archipelago, which occupies a space laid down on the maps as unknown, situated between Borneo, Holo, the Molucca, and New Phillippine isles. According to the best information I was able to obtain in the Phillippine isles and at Batavia, these islanders have a striking resemblance to the people of Otaheite, as described by Monsieur Bougainville, and indeed to the natives in general of those more southern regions.

The inhabitants of all the islands above mentioned having in their manners, customs, language, and features, more analogy
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to one another than to the people of the continent, I think it natural to infer, that their intercourse with the Asiatics is comparatively of a recent date, and that their first emigration from the old world must have happened at a very ancient period; and hence it is that the race of men in these regions of the globe, their language, manners, and usages, have acquired so peculiar a cast. They speak in soft tones of voice; and I was told that the Bissayan language in general is smooth and modulated. Like the savages of New Spain, however, they frequently utter guttural sounds, by pressing the tongue against the palate. Vowels in their origin seem to be the simple cries of animal nature; and for this reason the language of a solitary savage consists in the mere emission of inarticulate sounds, a faculty in common to man with the greater part of other animals. Consonants are conventional, and, like the stops of a musical instrument, mark the distinction or articulation of sound, and are of subsequent and curious invention. Their numbers increase with the progress and improvements of society; and that language

language in which mutes and vocal sounds come to be most happily combined, will be deemed the most agreeable vehicle of our ideas. I conceive this to be the reason why the languages of all barbarous tribes contain many more inarticulate sounds than that of any half civilized nation, with which I am acquainted. I own, however, that my knowledge of the Bissayan language is but imperfect, having spent too little time in these islands to be able to speak it with great fluency.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Galleon sails for Manilla—Anchors in the Harbour of Cavite—Description of the Country contiguous to Manilla—Shyness of the Catholic Missionaries in their Conduct towards Strangers—Particulars relative to the native Indians—Chastity of the Females—Two remarkable Incidents which characterize the genuine Simplicity of the Natives, by whose exemplary Lives the Morals of the Spaniards have been improved.

THOUGH we had been favoured with many intervals of fine weather, the westerly winds continued to blow till the end of September, but the wind shifting to the N. N. E. we then prepared for our departure; and on the 7th of October, every thing being on board, sailed with an easterly wind for Manilla. We steered W. N. W. in order to enter the Phillippine Archipelago; but towards evening were obliged to shorten sail, being deterred by the violence of
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of the current from attempting the passage of San Bernardino during the night. Next day we passed the straits, leaving the little island San Bernardino in the middle of a passage about three leagues in breadth, formed by the island Luconia and a number of smaller ones contiguous to Samar. Here the sea has a most rapid current, attended with whirlpools, which retarded our progress; but the direction of the stream being generally in our favour, and the wind increasing we soon passed the island Capul, and the *Narangean* isles. I saw the island San Hyacyntho, or Ticao, where the galleon takes in water and provisions before her final departure for Acapulco. After San Hyacyntho, continuing to coast the mainland, we passed in view of Masbate and Burias, and entered a kind of basin twenty leagues in extent. We passed Marindouque on the left, and steering into a second basin, came in view of an European vessel, but as she had a great deal of wood upon deck, and carried little sail, we were unable to ascertain to what country she belonged; considering that these seas are but rarely fre-

quented by European merchantmen, we gave her chase. She proved to be the *San Carlos*, a Manilla galleon, which, in her passage to Acapulco, had met with a severe gale of wind north of the Marian isles, and after rolling away her main and mizen masts, was on her way back to be repaired.

Pursuing the same direction, we discovered Mount Calapan, in the island Mindoro, which we soon left to the south. This island and the main land form a channel, in passing through which, a fresh wind springing up, we made good way, and at length descried the mountains of Maribelles, situated S. W. from the bay of Manilla. Two passages lead into the bay; the first, though wider than the other, is more difficult, on account of the bank of Saint Nicolas; and therefore we proceeded directly towards the one more remote. They are formed by the island Corregidor, and on the side of the sea by a number of small islands, and a cluster of rocks named *Cavallo Puercas*. The wind blowing fresh at E. and E. N. E. we anchored off Corregidor till the next morning in fifteen fathoms water, with

with a bottom of sand ; and on the 15th of October dropped anchor in the Port Cavite, situated N. E. from the Bay of Manilla. Cavite is the harbour chiefly frequented by the king's ships while in the Phillippine isles. The shallow water of the river, it being only twelve or fifteen feet at flood, obliges large vessels to lie here, though at two leagues distance from Manilla. As high as the city the tide seldom rises above six feet. The harbour is formed by a tongue of land, which shelters it from the S. W. and N. W. winds, the most formidable to the navigation of these seas ; and as it is a bold shore, the ships moor close in, in perfect safety. On the point of this tongue of land stands an arsenal, which is defended by excellent batteries, is of great extent, and well provided with dock-yards and naval stores. The arsenal towards Manilla is protected by a fort erected on the same tongue of land ; and the whole is covered with very strong walls on the side of the sea. The town at the port of Cavite is named Saint Roch, and peopled with Indians, who make excellent sailors, as well as workmen for the arsenal.

I was extremely satisfied to find myself in a city whose contiguity to the European settlements in the east has considerably corrected the harsh spirit of national prejudices in the Spaniards; prejudices which on various occasions, during my residence in New Spain, as well as on my passage from Acapulco to the Phillippine isles, I own disconcerted me not a little. From the Dominicans, who often sent missionaries hence to China, I expected (but I am sorry I must add, in vain) such documents and instructions to their friends in that empire, as might facilitate my intended expedition to Tartary. The inveterate aversion of that people to admit strangers into the interior parts of their country, rendered this the only expedient from which I could hope for success; but finding my views disappointed in this part of my plan, by the indifference, perhaps policy, of the Dominican missionaries, I resolved to continue my travels round the globe by the way of India.

As I never lost sight of one great object, the study of simple and uncultivated man, in whatever part of the world I might find him,

him, the circumstances of my residence at Manilla were happily chosen. I was lodged on a bank of the river, whose gentle stream glided silently under my windows, between rows of the *mangoe*, *mangoustan*, and Chinese orange-trees, and only one mile distant from Manilla, a space entirely covered with huts, gardens, and country seats. The road leading to the city by land passes through five villages, which may be considered as the suburbs of Manilla, and presents a prospect chiefly consisting of rice grounds equally beautiful. About a hundred paces from my door stood an eminence sloping gently into a plain, which afforded a common pasture to all the cattle of the neighbourhood. It being the custom of the inhabitants to travel as well as to transport their goods by water, numbers of boats and canoes, employed in conveying the produce of the fields and gardens to market, were incessantly passing under my eye; and, indeed, no street of any city can present a more gay or crowded prospect than the river of Manilla. My host had taken advantage of the gentleness of the current, and built one half of his house

within the verge of the water, while some Indians, his neighbours, had erected theirs on feeble pillars of the bamboo, from two to four yards in the channel, a circumstance which contributed to render their habitations eminently clean and wholesome. The style of building is nearly the same with that in the Bissayan islands. The houses of the Spaniards are of stone, spacious, and in a taste entirely different from that of the Indian cottage; instead of glass-panes for their windows, they use a kind of transparent shell, similar to mother-of-pearl, which admits light in sufficient quantity to answer every useful purpose.

On the island Luconia my time was devoted as usual to the company and conversation of the natives. I lodged, boarded, and slept, just as they did, which I esteem the only method of becoming acquainted with the real character and disposition of the people. Though the Indians here seem to possess the same good qualities of the heart which distinguish the inhabitants of the other islands, they are not equally free from a certain tincture of whim and caprice.

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The natural turn of their mind is gay, lively, and adroit; but such as inhabit the more northern parts of the island are extremely coarse and rustic, both in their persons and manners. From the natural richness of the soil the natives seemed to have imbibed a kind of vanity, which, joined to the universal practice of mutual charity and beneficence, makes them averse to any laborious occupation. The expence of maintenance is an object beneath their notice; and hence strangers from the distant villages of their own tribe often make visits of three or four months at their houses. This national hospitality is exercised in a more eminent degree in favour of their own immediate connections; and, therefore, an Indian frequently entertains the whole family of a poor relation as long as they are disposed to continue under his roof. The members of a family seldom separating upon the marriage of the younger branches, four or five different heads, with their respective children, often live together in the same hut. I have frequently admired this little community assembled in good-humour, and sitting

down together, without one symptom of envy or jealousy, to partake their meal out of the same dish. It might be supposed that families thus constituted would require many different apartments. This, however, is not the case : every individual, strangers themselves not excepted, sleeps on a mat spread on the ground in the same apartment ; and yet it rarely happens that any act of impropriety is known to take place betwixt the sexes. I have sometimes found, when I awaked in the morning, that I had borrowed the half of a fine young Indian's mat, who was fast asleep by my side, without my giving offence to her, or promoting scandal in the family. I understand that the same habits of domestic life prevail in many countries remote from this island, without being attended with any inconvenience to good morals. Indeed, the very existence of this perilous custom is a proof, in my judgement, of great purity as well as simplicity of manners in the people among whom it prevails.

It is remarkable, that during the whole time I spent on the island Luconia, I never
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met with a single instance of wrangling between husband and wife, a circumstance that is but too common in the most civilized nations of Europe. The manners of even the richest Spaniards have been improved by the exemplary lives of the natives; and hence there is scarcely one family of condition at Manilla, which has not two or three *creanzas*, or poor orphans, in the house, fed, cloathed, and lodged, in all respects, like their own children. It is conceived to be the duty of the patron, as soon as the orphans he has adopted arrive at the age of puberty, to get the females married, and the males into such employments as are suited to their respective geniuses and capacities. I have seen, among the objects of this domestic charity, women who had been portioned from the bounty of their benefactors to the amount of five or six thousand piastres. At Manilla there are likewise public foundations or convents, into which poor girls are admitted; who, after being properly reared and educated, are dismissed with a competent portion.

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The children of the natives, to the age of ten or twelve years, usually run about in their shirts, without any other covering whatever. I think this improper even in boys; and to permit girls of the same age, in a warm climate, to appear constantly with so slender a covering, borders upon indecency, and seems to imply a culpable negligence in the parents. I am of opinion, however, that in young people nakedness is not perceived to be the cause of shame until the passion of sex begins to be excited. This idea was first suggested to my mind by the two following incidents:

I had walked one day into a wood about a league's distance from Manilla, where, happening to meet with an Indian cottage, I found a girl of ten or twelve years of age before the door, sitting on her hams. She rose the instant she saw me, and was at some pains to replace her shift, which she had gathered up to her arms. Still, however, she remained completely exposed where modesty is ever most anxious to draw her veil; but her shoulders being now covered, she seemed satisfied that all was well, and in a moment

moment, every symptom of embarrassment vanished;

I had occasion to observe for several days the son of my host, aged eleven years, and the daughter of an Indian, his neighbour, about ten, who began in their childish sports to betray a certain uneasiness. They were mutually fond of each other, mingled little with their companions, and every kind of play, except that between themselves, was evidently tiresome and insipid: into this, without design or consciousness in them, something mysterious seemed to be infused. They were clothed only in their shirts; but I could observe, that when the heart felt a particular emotion, they instinctively drew it over that part, of which, on ordinary occasions, and in the presence of indifferent persons, they seemed wholly unmindful.

My hostess, who had entered the matrimonial career at the age of thirteen, had gone in the raiment of nature till the year preceding her marriage. Savages, except in cold climates, the Indians of the Phillippine isles, the natives of many parts of India, and the Arabs, generally go naked, or at least with
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but a slight covering round the loins, without being conscious of the smallest impropriety in their appearance. The tawny colour of the skin, like a thin mantle, shades their persons; but, what is of more consequence, they are accustomed to view with indifference, or in the modesty of nature, that part of the human frame to which, in refined ages, the unbridled and inflamed imagination of man attaches ideas of intemperate and criminal sensuality. In civilized society we often meet with an affectation of modesty, which almost invariably betrays a latent corruption of morals; whereas the thoughtless indifference of the Indian or savage, as to his outward appearance, is, in my estimation, a strong proof of the purity and innocence of his mind,

CHAP. XXV.

Description of the City and Harbour of Manilla—Saint Croix and several other Towns in the Vicinity described—Policy of the Chinese in obtaining a Settlement in the commercial Town of Parian—Character of this enterprising People—Cautions the Japanese observe in their commercial Intercourse with other Nations—Particulars relative to the Inhabitants of the Island of Luconia.

THE city of Manilla is of considerable extent. The streets are handsome, and built in a good stile, and the houses better and more convenient than may be discovered at first sight by a stranger. The inhabitants of the first distinction are rich, and those of the inferior orders are generally in easy circumstances. Here the taste for expence, luxury, and debauchery, is much less than that which, as I have already remarked, prevails at Mexico. Every object around me seemed to have assumed the air of the gay, simple, and ingenuous Indian; in-
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so much, that even the haughty and arrogant temper of the Spaniard appeared in some measure to have been subdued by the mild example of his more amiable neighbour.

The river flows under the city-walls, is the harbour for merchant ships, and separates Manilla from the Town of Saint Croix. Saint Croix is in part equally well built with the capital, is populous in Indians and Spaniards, and surrounded by three villages of the natives, which may be regarded as suburbs. At a short distance, on the opposite bank of the river, but on the same side with Manilla, are several considerable towns also belonging to the natives. Few merchants, and still fewer mechanics, reside within the walls of Manilla. The great seat of their manufactures, as well as the emporium of all kinds of merchandize, is a town named *Parian*, on the other side of the river, which is pretty regularly built, and inhabited chiefly by Chinese. The Chinese, who in former times used to come only once a year from Canton or Quemoy, found means, under the pretext of embracing Christianity, but, in fact, in order to possess

possess themselves of the trade of the country, to leave a few of their companions in the island. From this colony their population has ever since been increasing; and at present they amount to more than twenty thousand, who, after engrossing the whole of the manufactures, and the principal part of the trade of Manilla, begin to turn their attention to agriculture. They are extremely artful and designing in business, insinuating in their address, and, under the mask of a smiling countenance, ever on the watch to take advantage of the credulous customer. But they are sober, industrious, affable, and lively. In their persons they are well-proportioned; and the expression of the face, which is by no means engaging at first view, after a little acquaintance becomes somewhat interesting. I imagined I could discover a kind of analogy between the Chinese countenance and that of the Indians of the Phillippine isles. The bones, however, of the face, eyes, and the bulk of the features, taken separately, are different, and much more comely in the latter than in the former; but there is a considerable resemblance.

blance in the nose, and general effect of the whole.

Among the inhabitants of Manilla are Armenian merchants, Malays, natives of the Malabar coast, and of the kingdom of Siam, besides a few Japanese, who having been accidentally thrown on these coasts, have chosen to settle on the island. It is a law of the emperor of Japan, that none of his subjects, under pain of death, shall sail out of sight of land: hence such as happen to be forced by the violence of wind and weather to a different shore, renounce every idea of ever returning to their native country. With an extreme deference for their superiors, they are sober, brave, and possessed of a good understanding. In their deportment they are grave and sedate; hardy and robust in their persons; but though formed by nature to endure the severest toil, they seem disposed to submit to it as little as possible. These observations, however, being collected in the course of a very short acquaintance with only a few of their countrymen, when applied to their national character must be received rather as conjectural, than as a certain

tain information ascertained by long experience.

I was told by the natives of Japan, that the only open trade they carry on is with the Chinese; and even this is subjected to numberless severe restrictions. The rigorous terms on which the Japanese admit Hollanders into their ports are generally known. As soon as a Dutch vessel enters the harbour, she is consigned to a Japanese magistrate, as a pledge of the company's good behaviour on shore; and in the meantime the business of her voyage is transacted by European agents, in a place completely walled in, and secluded from the public. Some time since the Manillans sent deputies and presents to Japan, with overtures of friendship, and an offer of entering into such a treaty of commerce as might be deemed beneficial to both nations. The Japanese received the deputies with much respect, accepted their presents, and made them others in return, of much higher value; but declined to negotiate on any terms whatever, either a commercial or political alliance between the two countries. Much about the

same period, and for a similar purpose, the council of Manilla dispatched an embassy to Pekin; where, being received in the character of Indians, they obtained a free trade over the whole maritime bounds of the empire, a trade which, in the hands of the Spaniards, is unskilfully managed; but which, as it is a voyage of little more than a hundred leagues from Luconia to the Chinese coast, is capable of being greatly extended.

Articles of beautiful workmanship in gold, and a species of metal named tombac, which is esteemed one third more precious, are manufactured by the artists of Manilla; and the gold chains made by their women vie in beauty with the most elegant I have ever seen in any other part of the world.

In the dependencies of the Phillippine isles are numbers of birds nests, which are esteemed very salutary and delicate eating. They have excellent mangoes; and the sago of Luconia, a species of gum which distils from the lopped boughs of a certain tree, is said to be extremely beneficial to the stomach.

In various parts of this island is found a race of men who, in their features and complexion, have a striking resemblance to the negro. They are constantly discovered wandering through the woods, of a very diminutive stature, and of uncommonly mild and gentle dispositions. No account is given of their origin, nor by what means this dwarfish race came to be settled in the island. There are also several hordes of roving Indians, who have never yet embraced Christianity, and who are still too barbarous to be incorporated into villages.

The inhabitants of the sea coast, as in the island of Samar, were formerly Mahometans, and governed by chiefs named *Datous*, who, while they exercised sovereign authority over their vassals, owed allegiance and tribute in their turn to certain neighbouring princes. Some of these chiefs still exist in the Bissayan isles, but retain no other memorial of their ancient greatness than the privilege of collecting a revenue, from themselves as well as their vassals, to the crown of Spain. It is, however, very trifling, and exacted with the same spirit

of moderation as is exercised in New Spain. A few of these Datous are found likewise in the island of Luconia, but without a shadow of consequence or authority. I knew a woman at Manilla, Indian and Chinese by extraction, who had a half-blood brother descended from one of those ancient chieftains. He had long entertained hopes of obtaining the exemptions contained in a late edict of Spain, in favour of his birth; but the governor, under various pretences, contrived to elude his claim; and he died soon after of want and a broken heart.

I also saw at this place an officer in very mean and indigent circumstances, who inherited not only the name, but the royal blood of the Montezumas, the hereditary emperors of Mexico. The lineal descendants of this illustrious race of princes have only a small annual pension of five thousand piaftres, with the vain privilege of being escorted in their carriage by a body guard. Precluded, however, by poverty from exercising these empty honours, they are contented to have their guards, with the arms of the empire, which they are likewise entitled

titled to bear, engraved on their seals. An anxious policy, not perhaps of the Spanish nation in general, but rather, I suspect, of certain individuals at Manilla, has been too successful in rendering these unfortunate men extremely odious to the Indians—a policy, however, which would be neither unnatural nor wholly to be condemned, were it exercised with moderation. Upon the arrival of an English squadron at Manilla, many of the Indians ran with open arms to receive them; but the giddiness of these infatuated men was chastised with infinite severity, insomuch that the desolation of almost a whole province could scarce atone for their temerity. The *Sanglayes* or Chinese, though, it must be allowed, with less reason, fell into the same snare, and were punished, if possible, with more unrelenting cruelty. Hunted, like the beasts of the desert, in every corner of the country, those whom their enemies could not apprehend were shot in the pursuit; while the miserable *Sanglayes* who happened to fall into their hands were blown from the mouths of cannon. In short, this would have been the æra of their

final extinction in the island, had it been in the power of the Spaniards to lay their hands upon a few who fortunately found refuge in the English camp.

C H A P. XXVI.

Advantages which might result from a Commerce with Luconia and the Bissayan Isles—their natural Productions and those of the Phillippine Isles—Ingenuity of the Native Indians—the Spaniards might cultivate Spices successfully in this Part of their Territories—Talents and Industry of the Natives of the Phillippine Isles—a new Traffic suggested to Spain.

FROM what I was able to learn, during the six months I passed in Luconia and the Bissayan isles, as well as from what I myself had occasion to observe relative to the soil, climate, and character of the natives, I am led to entertain a very high idea of the advantages which might be derived from the

the commerce of these islands. They produce rice, corn, and vegetables, in great variety and abundance, the exportation of which to different parts of India would return ample profits to the merchant. The Dutch at Batavia have not a sufficient quantity of rice and corn for their own consumption ; while the peninsula of the Carnatic is obliged to import, at a great expence, corn and vegetables from *Surat*. The sugars raised in the provinces contiguous to Manilla, whose cultivation might be greatly extended, would, if exported to India, divide the profits of a very lucrative trade, at present wholly in the hands of the English and Dutch. That the advantages of this trade are very considerable, is evident from the conduct of the English, who find their account in smuggling sugars into the ports of Batavia and Malacca, although the same manufactures have been established in these islands by the Company. I had an opportunity of observing, that at Bombay, Surat, Mascate, Bender, Aboucheir, and Bassora, the article of sugar is esteemed a very valuable branch of commerce.

If the cultivation of indigo and cocoa has never been carried to perfection in the Philippine isles, it is by no means owing to any defect either in climate or soil, but solely to the want of enterprize and industry in the people. Indigo grows wild in many parts of the country; but the inhabitants do not seem to have reflected that it might be greatly increased in quantity, as well as improved in quality, by care and cultivation. This production, however, might be sold to great advantage in India; and every one knows the high value of both commodities to all the nations in Europe. Wherever cultivation has been applied to cocoa, it has been found to thrive in an eminent degree, and to be even of a superior quality to that of *Caraca*.

These islands produce different kinds of wood and bark useful in dyeing, as also ebony, and in general every species of precious wood employed for the purposes of the cabinet-maker. The small number of trees cut down by the Indians fall into the hands of the Chinese, who dispose of them to Indian or European merchants, for the Asiatic

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or European market. This branch of commerce I have no doubt might become extremely beneficial to the public, were the Spaniards at a little pains to examine the valuable productions of their own forests.

The quantity of cotton produced in the Phillippine isles is almost incredible, and this, joined to the natural industry and docility of the natives, might enable the Spaniards to produce manufactures in that branch equal, perhaps superior, to those either of India or China. The Indian displays an ingenuity in the pursuit of his different occupations, which exceeds every thing I have had occasion to observe in any other part of the world. His beautiful dyes, extracted from the wood and bark of forest-trees, he prepares and employs in the fabric of his stuffs, with a neatness and elegance peculiar to himself. It would be difficult to find a family in the Bissayan islands, which does not practise the art of weaving for its own private convenience; and therefore the Spaniards have only to stimulate and direct the application of their present habits and industry, in order to obtain the best and most brilliant

brilliant manufactures of the east. But the very promising circumstances of these islands to the manufacture of lawn, muslins, and every other article in cotton, which constitute half the trade between India and Europe, though such as to merit the most assiduous zeal for their improvement, have hitherto been almost entirely neglected.

Iron mines were once begun to be wrought in the inland districts of Laguna and Cagayan, but afterwards abandoned from the unskilfulness of the workmen: these, in proper hands, might afford an advantageous trade with every part of India, which constantly receives a considerable part of what it consumes of this article from the European market. The pearl-fisheries on its sea coasts, and the gold dust found in the interior parts of the island, are also objects of importance; but their value is sufficient to rouse the attention of the Spaniards, who ought to require of the missionaries on the spot such information as might render them of public utility.

The quantity of pepper I have seen in the Bissayan woods, I shall not affect to estimate,

as I might not be credited. Among their various productions, I met with a young branch of the clove-tree, which was meant, by the person in whose hand I saw it, for some medical purpose; but respecting this specimen I can say little, not having had it in my power to ascertain its specific qualities to my own satisfaction. Still, however, the small sample I have mentioned, rendering the clove-tree's existence in the island at least probable, might, I think, warrant more accurate inquiries into the nature of this article. The nutmeg of Manilla, which grows on the confines of Laguna, is not, I believe, equally good with that of the Molucca isles; but it seemed generally admitted, that in proportion to the degree of care and attention bestowed on its culture, its fruit was of a better or inferior quality. I have much reason to believe that cinnamon is far from being a rare commodity in the island of Mindanao; and though, like the nutmeg of Lucania, it has something wild and unpleasant in its flavour, this inferiority of quality may be owing to the want of that cultivation alone, by which, I have little doubt, the fruit

fruit of the Spanish cinnamon-tree might be rendered equal to any exported from the Dutch settlements. The vast influx of wealth derived to the Dutch from their monopoly of spices, pepper, nutmegs, cinnamon, and cloves, ought, one would suppose, to kindle a spark of emulation in the breast of the Spaniard, and draw his attention to the same productions, which are suffered to grow wild and unheeded in the Philippine woods.

The great quantities of wax obtained from the wild bee-hive of the wood, the delicate luxury of the birds nests, the oil and bark of the cocoa-nut, and many other articles equally despised by the Spaniards, would, in more industrious hands, afford subordinate branches of traffic with the different nations of India.

Having mentioned a few of the most valuable productions of those islands, susceptible of culture and improvement, I am next to observe, that, considering the population and capacities of the natives, it would be easy to render them the instruments of carrying every useful pursuit to its highest pitch

pitch of perfection. I am bold to assert this upon the evidence of that activity, ingenuity, and resolution in the Indians, which I witnessed in many different situations.

The fame of the Bohol and Cavite warriors extends over the bounds of the Phillippine isles; nor are the natives of the other provinces, who have had equal advantages of discipline and experience, at all inferior in the practice of war. In a country so very little indebted to its connection with Europe, one is astonished to find nautical artists of all kinds, ship-builders, caulkers, masters, and pilots. At Cavite, Pangasinan, and several other places, they construct ships of the line, I cannot say equally well finished with ours, but sufficiently strong, and in good proportion. The fibres of the cabonegro and fig-tree supply them with excellent materials for cordage. From their forest-trees they have learned to extract different kinds of pitch and tar, equal in quality to those of Europe. The husk or cover of the cocoa-nut is used for caulking, as is a certain composition of oil and plaster for paying the hull of the vessel. The mines of

Luconia furnish iron for anchors, nails, and all other articles necessary to the equipment of shipping. The Indian, considering his natural strength and agility, and his usual residence on the sea coast, or on the banks of rivers, is in reality born and bred for the sea; and on shore, works with a versatility of genius peculiar to himself in the several trades of carpenter, caulker, weaver, sail and rope-maker. But if to what I have said respecting the productions of the Phillippine isles, the industry, the genius, and capacities of the natives, whence I am fully persuaded every article of trade exported from India to Europe might be derived, I add, that these countries produce abundance of naval stores, and timber for ship-building; that the Indians, from rapid population, may be spared for equipping as well as navigating the fleets of Spain, without inconvenience to the improvement either of commerce or agriculture, I shall then have described the means of an oriental navy, capable of supplying the place of all the men and ships sent from the western hemisphere to the East Indies, whether for the purpose of national defence

fence in time of war, or of trade and commerce in times of peace.

Having considered the Phillippine isles as competent to the production of every eastern commodity; when we turn our eye to the map of the world, we shall find that their situation is extremely favourable to a direct trade with the parent country, as well as with the provinces of Peru and New Spain, by way of the South Sea. Many of these islands, besides Luconia, possess excellent harbours; but I cannot advise the removal of their trade with Europe from its present center at Manilla, until the peculiar advantages of the route by the newly-discovered straits of Captain Cook shall be more fully ascertained. Their trade, however, by the South Sea might be transferred with great propriety to a port at the point of *Naga*, on the eastern coast of the same island; a situation which would greatly abridge the most difficult part of the ship's passage across the Phillippine Archipelago, during the dangerous and tempestuous season of the westerly winds.

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The proximity of these islands to the coast of China might enable the Spaniards, by means of Chinese vessels, which frequent this archipelago, to obtain tea, silk, porcelain, and whatever other commodities are not the natural produce of their own colonies; and at the same time, in order to the instruction and improvement of the natives, they might find it easy to entice from China and Bengal eminent artists in all the different branches of Indian manufacture. Emigration from the coast of China to the Philippine isles is so considerable, that I am convinced the Spaniard, with a little policy, might have been long since in possession of all the skill and dexterity of the Chinese, without either trouble or expence. And nothing, in my opinion, but the grossest ignorance of the first principles of sound policy, can shew why their contiguity and intercourse with this people have hitherto been little, or rather in no degree useful to the Spanish colonies. The emigrants from China and the other nations of India, under proper management, might by this time have greatly contributed to promote the industry and population

tion of these islands, and have superseded the necessity of any other encouragement from Spain, than the inspection of intelligent men, who could give a proper direction to the labour of the Indians, and the natural resources of the soil.

C H A P. XXVII.

Disquisitions on foreign Settlements and their political Government—Practicability of forming a perfect Union, in a Colony, amongst People from various Countries—Vigilance of the English in promoting their Commerce—Trade at Manilla.

THE political government of the Spanish colonies has suggested the few following reflections on this subject. Foreign settlements, in my opinion, are only so far desirable as they are the means of increasing the number of useful and active citizens, who may co-operate at home and abroad in promoting the riches, stability,

and splendour of the parent state; and therefore a minister may be very idly employed in augmenting the number and extent of national dependencies; for if he is careless of their industry and population, they will soon become a burthen upon the mother country, or at best fluctuating and unproductive speculations in the general system of commerce.

The number of useful citizens may be increased by incorporating the natives with the colonial settlement. The Indians, though little advanced in the arts of civilization, are in general tractable; and were they to find themselves emancipated from the rigorous yoke of their own domineering aristocracy, and admitted to the full participation of a mild and equitable government, they would be naturally engaged to respect and imitate the character and genius of their masters.

The emigration of men disheartened and depressed at home by misfortunes, by severe and ungrateful toil, or by the harsh and rapacious conduct of their superiors, but who are led to hope for better days in a foreign country,

country, is another means of adding to the list of useful citizens. It is difficult, I confess, to inspire the mind of the refugee with principles of strong attachment to a strange soil; but still, by scattering them over the country, attaching them by certain rewards to different occupations, particularly to that of agriculture, and above all, by treating them in every situation justly and humanely, the affections of the emigrants would co-operate with the views of government, and at last conform to the purest sentiments of public virtue.

Were the laws and principles of Christianity, as they are contained in the sacred code, candidly presented and explained to rude and uninformed minds, they would lay the foundation of the most perfect union practicable among a people originally collected from different countries. Mutual charity and confidence, which ought to unite the hearts of all men who are sincere in their profession of the Christian faith, are the strongest obligations that can be imagined to produce concord in the pursuit of temporal interests. Hence the missionary, who is actuated by the

honest and disinterested zeal of making himself useful, may render eminent service to his country, by sowing the seeds of loyalty and allegiance in the minds of its new subjects. But while ecclesiastics are countenanced and protected by the magistrate in executing the duties of their office, the people ought likewise to be secured, by proper regulations, against that arrogant and domineering spirit so natural to the clergy.

Equality, as far as is consistent with the difference of talents and property, ought to subsist between the natives of the new country and the descendants of the parent state. Rewards, honours, and employments, at least of a subordinate nature, should lie open to merit, in whatever order of men it may be found ; and, as nothing tends more to consolidate the union of different races of men than alliances by marriage, this should receive every possible encouragement. The ancient usages, and even prejudices of strangers, should be treated with moderation and indulgence ; and, in general, whatever may contribute to unite the people in one liberal society, appears to me rationally practicable,

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in instilling into the minds of aliens and foreigners the true principles of fidelity and allegiance.

This policy, however, seems only applicable to colonial settlements ; for I suspect that, in a great nation, to mix and compound the breed in the same manner might bastardize the native character and genius of the people at large. If the elementary principles of national character are bad, nothing remains in the power of the political physician, but to alter and regulate its direction ; for it is incapable of being entirely changed to advantage, and will always be, such as it is, better than when adulterated by the introduction of foreign ingredients.

Colonies, on the contrary, in their original constitution contain principles of a heterogeneous nature ; and this circumstance, together with their distance from the seat of government, will, in a great measure, account for their subsequent depravity. His remote situation not only excluding the colonist from places of trust at home, but likewise from the honours and emoluments of the first places in the colony, produces a humili-

miliating sense of subordination, and gradually estranges his mind from an allegiance to the parent state. This evil, however, necessarily arises from his inferior circumstances, and from the sovereign's ignorance of those individuals in the colony, into whose hands power and confidence might be safely intrusted. Besides, a turn of mind peculiar to the planter, occasioned by a physical difference of constitution, climate, customs, and education, tends still more to repress the remains of his former attachment to his native soil. Whoever has attended to the striking peculiarities which often subsist between the inhabitants of different provinces, cities, and even villages of the same kingdom, will easily conceive the powerful influence of this principle. Now if, in the course of human affairs, any critical situation in the circumstances of the mother country should happen to concur with this jealous and irritated temper of the colonies, it is likely to be embraced by certain popular leaders, as the proper moment for revolt; while pride, luxury, and the love of innovation, actuating the minds of all orders of men, may suggest

suggest claims to independence, and prompt men finally to withdraw that allegiance which they have learned to consider as a foreign yoke.

Colonial depravity seems to be less incident to an island than to a more extended territory; and therefore I would recommend an insular in preference to a continental situation, for the purpose of distant settlements. Exorbitant fortunes, which always produce great inequality in men, are almost peculiar to an extensive country, and seldom fall to the share of individuals residing within the moderate bounds of an island; besides, the more difficult intercourse which subsists between two islands, will render their union more incomplete than that between two provinces on the same continent. Each island will acquire a character peculiar to itself, and adverse from an intimate coalition with a neighbour; whilst sameness of situation, leading to similar pursuits, may be expected to create in the minds of their respective inhabitants the jealousy and antipathy of rival states.

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I was at some pains to consider the present state of our Antilles islands ; and I am satisfied, from every thing I was able to observe, that citizens, according to their respective character, education, and circumstances, should be made to fill the hard and laborious as well as the more easy and respectable departments of the colony. This is the arrangement of nature, and arises from the ordinary progress of human society—an arrangement, however, which was checked in our western islands by the early introduction of a system of slavery, which, for moral turpitude, has no example in the history of mankind. The European no sooner arrives in the colony than he conceives himself a man of rank, and would blush to exercise the same manual occupation he used to practise at home. He joins his countrymen, not to work, but to indulge ; and hence the poor negro is saddled not only with that labour intended for his master, but likewise with what properly belongs to inferior animals. It therefore follows, that while the lazy breed of white men increases, the useful and laborious blacks are daily on the decline.

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The planter's diminished stock must be recruited by fresh importations of slaves ; and thus, by their rapid and unnatural consumption, the regions from which they are obtained must be gradually reduced to desolation. The cruel effects of this inhuman traffic are already felt in the thin population of these fable tribes ; and, from the art and chicane which the African dealer learns from the European merchant, advance in the price of negroes may be expected to bear no proportion to their actual scarcity.

In a country where the beauty of climate is only equalled by a fertility of soil, the race of Europeans degenerates as it increases ; and, after depriving the colony of useful labourers by excessive toil and severity, many remain a burden upon the settlement, or fall a sacrifice to idleness, extravagance, and sensuality. How different from these colonies, in population and manners, are the provinces of Canada and Louisiana ! In the latter, though with a more stubborn soil, the planter is not degraded in his own estimation, nor in that of others, by cultivating his farm with his own hands. His constitution is
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not impaired by the indulgence of idleness and intemperance; nor does the improvement of his fields depend on the hard toil of a reluctant slave, who has no better prospect than that of ending his days amidst the rigours of labour and punishment. Respecting what is observed of the heat and pernicious influence of climate on the European constitution, I conceive it to be merely an apology for pride and indolence; for it is evident, that the fibres of the negro, born under the vertical rays of the sun, must be much more relaxed, and therefore less in a condition for labour and exercise, than those of the European who comes from a more temperate region. In short, I have had occasion to remark, that ignorance and indifference on the part of the mother country, regarding the government of her colonies, frequently engender insolence and rapacity in certain individuals, whose conduct tends to subvert the commerce, and shake the stability of her foreign settlements.—I return to the Phillippine islands.

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The English, with a vigilance peculiar to themselves in matters relating to commerce, perceiving the importance of an establishment in these islands, when Manilla, by the articles of peace, was restored to the Spaniards, formed an alliance with the king of Holo, and established a colony in his dominions. Their ships, which have occasion to proceed to China late in the season, are obliged to sail through the Phillippine Archipelago; and, therefore, they have been at infinite pains to acquire an accurate knowledge of this navigation, a navigation which in time of war affords access to the Indian ocean, introduces them to a commerce with the whole of these islands at present in the hands of the Chinese, favours their illicit trade with the Dutch settlements and the Molucca isles, and may, on some future occasion, facilitate the conquest of one or more of those countries, whether Indian, Spanish, or Dutch.

If the reader is inclined to regard these observations as idle and extravagant, let him reflect for a moment on the active and aspiring genius of the English, and he will find,

find, that among them the most insignificant of the people is frequently actuated by all the zeal and enterprize of a patriotic citizen ; that his speculations on the great interests of his country are not treated with contempt merely because they come from an obscure individual ; that, since these distant regions are rarely visited but by men of inferior condition, who emigrate for the improvement of their fortune, the minister of that enlightened country is sensible he can derive such information from persons of this description only ; that the exact bearing of a cape, position of a channel, mountain, or harbour, discoveries of little moment at first view, may be found by men of their character, ardent to have a permanent settlement in that part of the world, of essential importance. In a word, let him recollect, that these are actually the means by which the English have been enabled to complete their conquests in America, to acquire a most extensive dominion in India, and to open to themselves different avenues to the capital of Mexico,

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The present commerce of Manilla, exclusive of a coasting trade with the Bissayan isles, is confined to one or two ships, employed to purchase goods at Macao, and five or six Chinese vessels, which import commodities from Canton and Quemoy. They dispatch, but rarely, a single ship to Siam, Bengal, or the coast of Coromandel; and, besides the galleon of New Spain, loaded with the produce of China and Bengal, they send one to Batavia, whence they are supplied with the goods and manufactures of Europe. As there was no ship to sail from Manilla sooner than that bound for Batavia towards the beginning of March, I chose to embrace this opportunity of continuing my travels.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Departure from Manilla for Batavia—Anchorage in Batavia Road—useful Cautions to Navigators—the Dutch hold their India Settlements by a precarious Tenure—Description of Batavia and its Environs.

I ACCORDINGLY sailed from Manilla for Batavia, the 7th of March 1769, in a small Spanish vessel, with a fair wind at east. We passed the Marybelles and the point of Caponnes on our left, and soon came in view of the islands Luban and Mindoro; but being unable to discover the island Paragoa, we were not without apprehension of running on some sand-banks situated northward from the soundings of Pulo Saputo. We entered the sound of this little island, with from thirty to forty fathoms water, on a bottom of sand mixed with shells, and discovered Pulo Saputo, which is a rock in the perfect form of a shoe. North of it, at the distance of three leagues, is a cluster of other little islands, or rather rocks, which

which are esteemed somewhat dangerous in this navigation. The wind, which had greatly abated as we turned Pulo Saputo, began to freshen; and having no confidence in the S. E. at this season, it being now the 20th of March, we stood out to sea from the mouth of the gulph of Siam, and soon discovered the islands Anambas and Natuna. We saw Pulo Aor, and afterwards the isles of Saint Esprit. Between Saint Esprit and the islands that form the entrance to the straits of Malacca, we had very little depth of water, our soundings being only eight fathoms on a muddy bottom. We had made but little progress when we were admonished by violent squalls of our approach to the island *Sumatra*; and soon discovered the mountains of Monopin, north of the island of Banca. Here we stood away towards *Sumatra*, and steered along the coast, keeping clear of the shore, as well as of the point of Banca. As we passed the mouth of the Palimban, a river in *Sumatra*, we saw a Dutch vessel taking in a cargo of pepper. We entered the straits and sailed along the shore in only six fathoms water. The sea running

running extremely high, with little wind, we were desirous of coming to anchor ; but finding we had occasion for a supply of fresh water, we passed the straits, and moored in five fathoms, a stone's throw from the islands of Nanca. This, however, being a critical situation for small vessels such as ours, by reason of the Malay pirates who infest the straits, we made all possible dispatch to get again under weigh ; and the next day, having doubled Nort-water, we had a distant view of the island Java. We were now surrounded with a thousand small islands, in a current which ran with great impetuosity, and we thought it adviseable to bring to and drop an anchor. We again got under sail with more favourable weather, and doubling Sud-water and the isle of Edam, we moored the 15th of April in the road of Batavia. The flag-staff of a Dutch fort, erected on this little island, appeared over the tops of the trees : this, with a number of labourers, were the first objects that caught our notice. The approach to the isle of Edam from the S. E. is greatly incom-

incommoded by a reef of rocks, to avoid which requires much caution in the pilot.

The road of Batavia is large, handsome, and secure, but presenting two objects of danger, which ought to be described for the benefit of navigators. The first, lying in the E. and in the way of the ordinary station of shipping in the road, we left on our larboard at a considerable distance. The second is equally distant, on the side of the main from the ship's station, which is a good quarter of a league from land, and opposite to the canal of Batavia. The former is distinguished by several crosses erected for the purpose of beacons; and, as the vessels which have business in the Archipelago or the Molucca isles have no temptation to approach so near the land, is of little consequence. But the latter may easily interfere with such ships on a tack as have occasion to touch at the island Honduras, or on the coast of the main land, near the straits of the Sound. This is pointed out to the mariner's notice by a pole, on the top of which is a triangular frame.

The road is formed, on the side of the land, by a vast curvature of the coast, in the manner of an amphitheatre, whose extremities project considerably into the sea, and on that of the ocean by a number of little islands, on which the Dutch have erected arsenals, magazines, and work-houses. At Honduras we had the first striking example of Dutch industry, consisting of windmills constructed for the purpose of sawing timber.

I proceeded directly to Batavia, which is situated about half a league from the shore, and at the head of a very beautiful canal, in excellent repair, and capable of admitting vessels of four hundred tons burthen. The city is extremely populous, has a handsome castle, and the garrison, as well as the other inhabitants, consists chiefly of Europeans. Though regularly, it is *weakly* fortified; but, by means of canals and avenues of large trees, which occupy and intersect the adjacent grounds, and which might be easily converted into an infinite number of intrenchments, it seems to me capable of being put into a very strong state of defence.

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From all I could learn during four months spent in Batavia and its environs, the settlements of the Dutch in India seem to be held by a much more precarious tenure than than those of their neighbours the Spaniards in the Phillippine isles. Since the first settlement of the Dutch in this part of the world, they have taken no pains to incorporate the natives with their own subjects; on the contrary, their conduct and deportment towards the Indians have been such, as to render the latter highly indignant, and impatient of their government. The Hollanders are neither insensible to the disaffection of the Indians, nor to the advantages of their trade; and hence that chequered policy, in which they employ alternately force, flattery, and dissimulation, as may seem most conducive to their present views. They are engaged in frequent wars with the Indians, and in perpetual dread of hostilities, even from those who live in the neighbourhood of Batavia; and, were any disastrous event to happen in the affairs of the commonwealth to divert a strict attention to their colonies in the East, we might soon see the

reign of these republicans finally terminate in those regions. This is what may be called the want of colonial stability, a defect partly owing to the Indians never having been brought to conform in matters of religion ; but much more to that commercial avarice and rapacity which have frequently engaged the Dutch in measures so scandalously base and sanguinary, as could not fail to excite in the breasts of the natives sentiments of the most implacable hatred to their persons and interests.

The Dutch settlement in the island of Java presents a large field for discussion ; but I shall say little here of what I have either seen or have sufficient reason to believe. The great resort of strangers, Europeans as well as Asiatics, to this road ; the vast commerce of the Dutch, to which Batavia serves as the principal mart ; the unaffected beauty of the capital ; its canals, walks, and gardens ; the regularity of the Batavian houses ; the number, and sumptuous manners of the Dutch merchants ; the immense population of Indians, Moors, Chinese, and Portuguese ; their numerous families of slaves ; the resources

sources requisite to maintain and carry on so extensive and various a commerce; the force of their arms, which are in condition to controul and govern many warlike and potent princes; in a word, all the chief objects of inquiry relative to the actual state of this country have been fully considered by preceding travellers.

I found much entertainment in rambling about the streets of Batavia, each of which presents the gay and pleasant effect of a beautiful promenade. On either side is a regular row of houses, veneered with a kind of tessellated bricks. Along the walls of each house, and two or three steps above the level of the ground, runs a terrace, which is separated from that of the adjoining building by benches, and covered with tents or booths for the accommodation of the proprietor and his friends. Beneath this terrace is a space of six or seven feet in width, paved with flag-stones, which forms a path for the convenience of foot-passengers. Contiguous to the path is a much larger space, covered with fine sand and gravel, intended for the use of carriages; and, last of all, appears a row of
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bushy evergreens, cut into the form of a fan, which lines each side of a canal of running water, about thirty yards in breadth. Under the shade of these trees is another little terrace, neatly paved, and rising by a flight of steps above the level of the street. The canal is confined by walls, with stairs at certain intervals, for the purposes of navigation; and on the opposite side is a street in exact uniformity with that which has now been described.

The castle is one of the most beautiful objects I have ever seen; and from the uniform and chaste simplicity observed in the military as well as rural disposition of the adjacent grounds, does great honour to the artist. The suburbs of Batavia are divided into three districts, and separated from one another by large intervals, which are occupied by gardens laid out in good taste.

The first district is composed of Portuguese heretics, and Indians from Bengal or the Malabar coast. Their streets and houses are in the stile of the Dutch, but on a smaller scale.

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The second, considerably larger and more populous than the former, is the chief residence of the Chinese, who, by their unwearyed bustle in the streets, and application to the business of their shops, afford a striking picture of the active and industrious genius of this extraordinary people. Their houses, except those of the richer sort which have an elegant simplicity, are miserably built; they are low, the apartments wretchedly contrived, and, from their great population, strangely crowded together. Their streets, extremely narrow and nasty, are besides much incumbered with a curious assemblage of all the various articles of Chinese industry and manufacture.

The third consists of Indians, collected from the different islands of the vast archipelago, as well as from the various parts of the eastern continent. This district is more extensive and rural, but much less populous than either of the former. The houses and gardens of the richer Moors from the peninsula of India, are in the Asiatic taste, and not inferior in beauty to those of the most opulent among the Dutch; but the houses of

the poorer sort are extremely simple. The Indian ever chusing to reside in the vicinity of running water, of which he makes frequent use for ablution and other religious observances, commonly rears his cottage between two trees on the bank of a canal. It is very remarkable, that, though sprung from countries widely different from one another, a few trifling differences excepted, they all observe the same rites, manners, and customs. Many are rude and uncultivated, but they are generally fair in their dealings, simple and unaffected in their dress, sober and temperate in their diet. They subsist almost entirely on rice and fruit; and use the loose flowing garments of the eastern nations. The Indian from the archipelago wears a kind of petticoat descending to the calf of the leg, a waistcoat widening as it approaches the hips, and over all a sash or plaid, which answers the purpose of a furtout coat, and occasionally serves to defend his person from the inclemencies of the season. In fine weather this is worn like a large shoulder-belt, and is esteemed an ornamental as well as useful article of dress. The furtout, or
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great coat, is common to both sexes, whose apparel is in all respects similar, except that the waistcoat and petticoat of the women are generally black, and made to descend lower than those of the men. The head of the woman is always uncovered, with the hair rolled or platted on the crown, in the manner of the Chinese. The men wear hats, made sometimes of leaves, and large and flat, which have a strong resemblance to those I first saw in the Phillippine isles. Others wear hats made of fine leaves, resembling in their form a small kettle.

The intervals between the different districts of suburbs present to the eye Dutch gardens beautifully intersected by canals, and embellished with artificial islands and rocks, in the same simple taste with their houses. The houses of the Dutch are large, handsome, and convenient; though they seldom occupy more during the day-time than two galleries in opposite fronts. The first, which is used as a drawing-room, is elegant, comfortably furnished, and made to admit a free circulation of air—a circumstance of great convenience in allaying the
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intense heat of the climate. One end of the second gallery is appropriated to the master's private accommodation, for here he has his counting-house, clerks, books, and papers. The other is the apartment of the wife, who, amidst her domestic concerns, her children, women, and slaves, superintends the industry and œconomy of her family. The gardens of the Dutch merchants extend to the distance of a league and a half from Batavia, on each side of magnificent canals, lined with fine trees, which afford a cooling and perpetual shade. Here I saw the basons or reservoirs of several rivers, which furnish plentiful supplies of water over all the adjacent country, though by far the greatest part of it is diverted into the canals of Batavia.

CHAP. XXIX.

*Customs of the Javanese and Malaysans—
Description of several Chinese Temples on
the Island of Java—religious and civil
Rites of the Chinese—ruinous Policy of
the Dutch in their Management of this Set-
tlement.*

I SPENT my time very agreeably in this island, partly in the city, but more frequently in one of the gardens which I have now described. At Batavia I saw the Chinese as well as the European comedy, and a species of Javanese opera, accompanied with dancing. There was a novelty in the natural and simple music of these countries, from which I derived much entertainment. The ceremonies attending the Javanese manner of burial are extremely interesting to a mind endued with sensibility. The mourner's plaintive lamentation, the tears and sorrow of relations, the profusion of flowers and odours scattered over the body of the deceased, are emblems of that sweet and tender affection which

which subsisted between the living and their departed friends.

In the vast concourse of different nations from the old continent one perceives a distinctive physiognomy and character, which are lively or serious, according as the respective places of their nativity are more or less removed from the regions under the line—a diversity which seems at the same time to receive certain modifications from the nature of the soil and the quality of diet. Experience has very much confirmed me in the truth of this remark; though I confess I have observed in some instances, with surprise, a stronger analogy between two people on the same continent, but widely distant from each other, than between two nations almost contiguous, the one of which is in Asia and the other in Europe. This appearance might perhaps be best explained by recurring to the original sources of their respective population.

The Chinese temples, which stand without the walls of Batavia, are in the same good taste observable in their private buildings: they are adorned with the statues of
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Chinese heroes and patriots, who, after rendering services to their country during their lives, are now remembered by posterity with gratitude and veneration. Before each statue is an altar, in honour of which tapers are kept burning day and night; and at stated periods it is the business of the priest to offer sacrifice, the nature or purposes of which I could not learn. The minister, however, appears in the evening before the altar, and, having prayed and beat a drum, proceeds to burn bits of paper painted with various designs; and probably in this manner presents gifts to the object of his religious worship. At a certain age of the moon these temples are magnificently illuminated with lamps and flambeaux; and indeed the greatest part of the Chinese rites seem to be exercised in the mysterious use of light and sound. Fire, I am told, is the symbol of that fervent love which ought to inflame their minds in the offices of devotion; while sound, serves to denote their earnest and importunate desire of being listened to in their prayers. I am much inclined to rest satisfied with this commentary on the religious rites of the Chinese,

nese, as there appears an evident analogy between this religious noise and the use of the great drum which stood anciently at the door of the hall of the emperor of China's palace. In former times every Chinese subject had the privilege of beating it as often as he wished to have an audience of the emperor ; and it is said that his Majesty was never known to refuse access to his presence the moment he heard the sound of the great drum.

When a Chinese virgin has attained an age proper for hymeneal rites, she intimates her desire of an alliance with the other sex, by placing a set of flower-pots in the windows of her apartments. Marriage is contracted without the intervention of the slightest acquaintance between the parties ; and the wife of a rich Asiatic would conceive it to be a profanation of her person, to be seen without the walls of the haram.

The Javanese are tall and well-proportioned in their limbs, and present themselves with a nobler air and more open countenance than the natives of the Phillippine isles. The Malaye Indians, on the other hand, are
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short and clumsy in their persons, with something extremely coarse and rustic in the eyes and general expression of the face. As to the manners, however, of the Javanese, I am greatly at a loss; for, having lodged in the house of an European, I had but little occasion to frequent their company.

Many complaints are made of the unwholesome nature both of the air and water at Batavia. For my part, though I drank nothing but pure water, and fed on fruit and vegetables alone, I never enjoyed, in any period of my life, better health than on the island of Java. This meagre diet, however, is very different from the manner of living in use among Europeans at Batavia; but I found it to be the food of the Indians, and it was much better suited to my natural taste, and to all the sober and temperate maxims of my life. Besides many species of fruits and vegetables peculiar to these climates, I met with every production of the European garden in great abundance. The register-ship, which sails annually in the month of March, being
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on the point of her departure, I seized this opportunity to write to my friends in Europe.

The most ruinous policy, in my opinion, which can here actuate a company of merchants, is that of interfering in the numberless feuds and animosities of the Indian princes; and hence I maintain, that the possessions of the Spaniards in the Phillippine isles rest on a surer foundation than those either of the English or Dutch in the East Indies. The Dutch were no sooner settled on the island of Java, than, instead of remaining like good and peaceable merchants behind their counters, they uniformly made it their business to mingle in all the antipathies and disputes of the natives. Constantly at war with one prince or another, perhaps to their misfortune they have been almost as constantly successful. A war, however, once kindled in these regions, like a kind of hydra, seldom expires without giving birth to many succeeding ones. I found, upon my arrival at Batavia, that they had just concluded two; one at Malacca, and the

the other in the Molucca isles; a third in the east of Java, was then upon their hands; and they were busily preparing for a fourth in Sumatra, against the king of Palimban.

CHAP. XXX.

Military and civil Establishments of the Dutch, in the Island of Java—their political Management in subjecting the native Princes—the Conduct of the Spaniards and Dutch, in the Administration of their distant Settlements, considered and compared—the Author takes his Passage in an English Vessel for Bombay.

THE Dutch company, under the pretext of doing honour to the emperor of Java, but in fact with a view to their own security only, maintain two companies of European cavalry in his service. Every avenue leading to the city is lined with a chain of forts; and though Batavia is defended by a numerous garrison, besides a strong body of

Europeans, divine service and the execution of criminals are always performed with shut gates.

The Indian kings in alliance with the Dutch are crowned by the council of Batavia ; and when at any time the right of succession happens to be disputed, the claims of that pretender most in the Company's interest are invariably sustained, and, by force or artifice, he is certain to succeed to the throne.

It is a maxim of policy with the Dutch, to suit themselves to the natural conceit and vanity of these eastern princes, and to flatter them with much outward shew of regal grandeur, but at the same time to strip them of all real consequence. Thus, provided the Dutch can get possession of the substance, the Indian may amuse himself with the shadow of Majesty. The king of Palimban having by some means given umbrage to the council of Batavia, I saw his minister arrive, instructed to make every apology in his master's name ; and his reception was such as became the representative of a great monarch. It is the duty of
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the youngest in the court of *elders* to introduce strangers to an audience of the Company, and therefore the *chabandar*, as he is called, attended by a numerous retinue, went to compliment him on his arrival. He was received with great ceremony, and his credentials being delivered to the *chabandar* under the discharge of artillery, were placed on a cushion supported by a large silver vase, which was carried by a company's officer. The procession getting into motion, the ambassador, escorted by a detachment of the company's troops, was conducted to the castle; where, being introduced to the council, the perusal of his instructions began and ended with a discharge of cannon and musketry. The ambassador withdrew, and the council of elders broke up.

The rank of counsellor, but above all the high office of president, is invested with much honour and distinction. The coach of the latter is constantly attended by a body of cavalry, and preceded by a company of trumpeters, who announce the person of his excellency to the public. At his approach, carriages of all denominations stop,

and those who are within alight, and pay him homage as he passes. The honour of having two running footmen, a band of music, and a train of coaches, is peculiar to the members of council; and carriages must stop and give way to them as to the governor general, but, instead of alighting, it is only required that those within shall rise from their places.

The higher class of merchants, who take precedence immediately after members of council, have the exclusive privilege of riding in gilt coaches. Carriages at Batavia are subjected to a very heavy imposition; but it is remarkable that the quantity of this tax is the *inverse ratio* of the subject's rank; insomuch that while a member of council pays a mere trifle, the inferior orders of men are made to contribute a great deal. If it is in the policy of this regulation to discourage carriages as a luxury, I have no objection to it; but I was not a little surprized to find, in the colony of a republic, and in a company of merchants, more etiquette and ostentation of superior rank than we usually meet with in the first class of European nobility.

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The Spaniards live in the quiet and undisturbed possession of their islands, and having in general nothing to dread from their own people, have leisure to turn their arms against the hostile designs of a foreign enemy ; and yet the subjects of Spain in those parts, making allowance for the difference in extent of territory, are much more numerous than those of the allied kings, or rather tributaries of the Dutch.

The consequence attached to the person of a Spaniard in a public office is chiefly conferred upon him as a representative of the parent state; and it is not very considerable, either with respect to power or honour: his personal conduct and character form his best recommendation to respect and esteem. An alcade, without the assistance of a single bayonet, rules over ten thousand Indians, who dislike him, it is true, as much as the natives of Java can hate the Dutch; but still they remain in unshaken allegiance to the Spaniards, a problem which can only be explained by the sameness of religion which subsists between the Phillippine isles and the mother country; but more especially, I sus-

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pect, from the influence of the monks or parochial clergy, who have greater influence in maintaining good order among the natives, than even the terror of an armed force.

The conduct of the Dutch in the administration of their distant settlements is at least equally exceptionable with that of the Spaniards. The miserable state of the natives who have the misfortune to live immediately under their authority, and their inhuman massacre of Indians and Chinese for venturing to oppose the torrent of Batavian oppression, are striking examples of the tyrannical maxims which actuate the tools of this mercantile government. During my short residence at Batavia the Dutch beheaded one Indian, and impaled another with circumstances of such savage barbarity, as I believe are scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of Turkey. The last unhappy man remained six days alive upon the stake, and was permitted, among those who call themselves Christians, to expire at last in the wind and rain under all the agony of his wounds. A prince from the Phillippine Archipelago had

had been condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and was then living in a cell immediately over the gate of the castle ; while an Indian of the same rank, from the island of Ceylon, was just sentenced to a similar punishment.

I do not mean, however, to defend the policy of the Spaniards, or to say that in the records of their government abroad one cannot find similar instances of barbarity and oppression. Their cruel persecution of the innocent natives of Mexico, with the present mean and indigent state of Montezuma's descendants, while they wound the feelings of humanity, carry down to latest generations an indelible stain in the page of history. The calamitous fate of the Datou's successors in the Phillippine isles, and that horrid slaughter of Indians and Chinese, which ensued upon their unhappy revolt, are farther examples of the same brutal and unrelenting policy. But one of the most extraordinary instances of colonial vexation, whether under the Dutch, English, or Spaniards, is that of a young Indian prince,

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who,

who, being forced into exile by the violence of his enemies, expected compassion under his misfortunes within the walls of Manilla : he had large possessions in Mindanao and Borneo, was king of Holo and several other adjacent islands. Compelled, however, to take the field against his uncle, in defence of his just rights, he was defeated in battle, and withdrew to Luconia, hoping to receive succours from the generosity of the Spaniards. He arrived at Manilla with great riches ; and delivered to the governor, as a present for the king of Spain, two curious pearls of surprising size and elegance. He had been educated in the religion of Mahomet ; but, with a view to ingratiate himself into the favour of his new allies, after dismissing his wives, embraced Christianity, and was admitted to baptism. In spite, however, of every compliance on his part, his nearest relations were subjected in his presence to the indignity of the whip, and reduced to the meanest condition of slavery ; while the unfortunate prince himself, stripped of his property,

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property, and overwhelmed by all the misery of poverty and despair, was confined to a dungeon. There he remained, bereaved of every earthly comfort, till the arrival of the English at the gates of Manilla, who opened the doors of his prison, and restored him to his subjects.

I cannot, however, believe, that such instances of perfidy and injustice in the Spanish colonies are countenanced by the parent state. The instructions of the court of Spain to her delegates in these islands have always been favourable to the happiness of the Indians; and hence the regulation above-mentioned for the encouragement of marriage between their own subjects and the natives, undoubtedly one of the best institutions that can be imagined for establishing a national colony. To this cause is chiefly to be attributed the decline of national arrogance among the Spaniards, as well as the great increase of Indian subjects, who consider themselves in all respects as citizens of the same state. But, until the Dutch condescend to imitate, particularly

ticularly in this instance, the wiser policy of Spain, their settlements in the East Indies can only be regarded as precarious boards of trade, established in distant and disaffected countries.

I have not troubled the reader with any account of the animal and vegetable productions in the neighbourhood of Batavia, because, from the constant resort of European nations to this island, they must before this time be sufficiently known to the public ; I shall therefore but briefly mention, that one night I met with an animal, which appeared to me of an extraordinary species : it had extremely short legs, toes, and claws, a long tail, a snout drawing to a point, a lively eye, and an aspect peculiarly mild and placid ; being covered with a coat of scales, each at least an inch in diameter, I took it for the armadilla. I happened to be in company with a Swiss officer, who, as it was found crossing the street from the side of the canal, mistaking it for a cayman, gave it a stroke with his *couteau-de-chasse*, but, owing to the resistance of the scales, it seemed to receive no manner of injury ; not
doubting

doubting that it was an animal of a noxious species, I thrust at it with my small sword, and pierced its body under the mail. The creature feeling itself wounded, instantly assumed the form of a bowl, and perceiving a slope in the ground, rolled with surprising velocity instinctively towards the water. Having shoved him to the top of the bank, he was seized, and carried suspended by the tail to my lodgings; here he survived his misfortunes only seven or eight days, in the course of which he became somewhat familiar, shewed an inclination to make himself a hole in the floor, and was almost constantly covered with ants. Whether these insects were attracted by any particular quality in his nature, or merely by the effluvia of his wounds, I cannot say; but to the best of my observation, he seemed to eat them. When at any time he caught my eye directed towards him, he presently collected his head and feet under his back and tail, and became a globular mass of scales. He is named, as I have been told, in the Portuguese language, *bisbou bergougnosou*, or the little blushing animal.

Intend-

Intending to visit Bombay, the only safe, commodious, and strongly fortified harbour on the main land of India, I took my passage in an English vessel bound to Surat, but which, for commercial reasons, was to touch at that port.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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July	Thermometer.	State of the Atmosphere.	State of the Wind.	Force of the Wind.	Lat.	Lon.	Variation.	Barometer.
1	0	fine	fine fun S.W.	pretty fresh	75° 54'	110°	-	28 inches 9 lines X
2	1	fine	fine fun W.S.W.	breeze	-	-	-	29
3	3	fine	fine fun W.	gentle	-	-	-	29 1/4
4	7	fine	fine fun W.N.W.	pretty fresh	-	-	-	28 1/4
5	3	fine	fine fun W.S.W.	gentle	-	-	-	29
6	3	fine	fine fun S.W.	gentle	-	-	-	29 1/4
7	3	fine	fine fun S.W.	gentle	-	-	-	29 1/4
8	5	fine	fine fun W.	almost calm	75° 6'	130°	30° Variation	29 1/4
9	4	fine	fine fun S.W.	lively	-	-	-	29
10	4	fine	fine fun N.W.	lively	-	-	-	29
11	2	fine	fine fun N.W.	gentle	74° 40'	140°	-	28 1/4
12	2	fine	fine fun N.E.	gentle	-	-	-	29
13	3	fine	fine fun N.W.	fine breeze	-	-	-	28 10 1/4
14	3	fine	fine fun N.W.	lively	-	-	-	-
15	4	fine	fine fun N.W.	fine breeze	73°	-	-	-
16	4	fine	fine fun N.E.	little fresh	72° 46'	90° 35'	-	28 8
17	5	fine	fine fun N.E.	gentle	72° 56'	120°	-	28 9
18	4	fine	fine fun S.W.	fine breeze	72° 28'	90° 6'	-	29 1/4
19	4	fine	fine fun N.W.	gentle	71° 25'	80° 23'	-	-
20	6	fine	fine fun N.E.	calm	70° 19'	70°	-	-
21	9	fine	fine fun S.E.	almost calm	69° 55'	60° 2'	-	-
22	9	fine	fine fun S.E.	gentle	68° 31'	50°	-	-
23	10	fine	fine fun S.E.	good breeze	67° 19'	50° 44'	-	-
24	11	fine	fine fun S.	gentle	66° 18'	60°	-	-
25	12	fine	fine fun S.	gentle	65° 50'	50° 6'	-	-
26	13	fine	fine fun S.E.	breeze	65° 25'	40° 32'	-	-
27	13	fine	fine fun S.W.	fine breeze	64° 55'	40° 6'	-	-
28	11	fine	fine fun W.N.W.	fine breeze	64° 15'	20° 22'	-	-
29	14	fine	fine fun N.W.	very fresh	63° 29'	20° 35'	-	-
30	12	fine	fine fun N.W.	very fresh	-	-	-	-
31	14	fine	fine fun N.W.	fine breeze	60° 1'	10° 3'	-	-

The mean Term of the Thermometer is placed at the Top of these Observations, and is 0. The Figures on the Right of 0 (nothing) indicate the Observations to be Plus; that is, more than the Mean Term, or above 0. Those on the Left of the same Term mark them to be Minus; that is, less than 0, or below Frost.

The Mean Term of the Barometer is likewise found at the Top of these Observations, and is 28 inches 9 lines. The Figures on the Right of the Term in like Manner mark the Observations Plus, that is, above the Mean Term; and those on the Left mark them Minus, or below 28 inches 9 lines.

A METEOROLOGICAL TABLE of a VOYAGE towards the NORTH POLE;

Constructed from daily Observations of the Thermomer and Barometer graduated by RHINLAND, and including the Variations of the Needle, the Temperature of the Air, and the State of the Weather and Winds, with the Longitude and Latitude of the Places in which the Observations were made.

April	Thermometer.	State of the Atmosphere.	State of the Wind.	Force of the Wind.	Lat.	Lon.	Variations.	Barometer.
16	10	serene	E. S. E.	fine breeze	53° 6'	East.		— 28 inches 9 lines X
17	8	overcast	S.	faint	55° 31'	18° Variat. N. W.		
18	7	baze	S. W.	a little fresh	56° 34'	West.		
19	11	fine sunline	S. W.	faint	57° 31'	21'		
20	7 1/2	rain	S. S. W.	tolerably fresh	59° 3'	55'		
21	6 1/2	overcast	S. S. W.	very fresh	61° 14'	10 49'		
22	9	fine overcast	W.	fresh	63° 57'	10 59'	19° Variation	
23	5 1/2	overcast	S. W. - N. W.	nearly calm	66° 27'	10 48'		
24	5	overcast	N. - E.	gentle	67° 26'	54'		
25	4	fun	N. E.	almost calm				
26	4	fun	N. W.	gentle	68° 6'	10 53'		
27	4	rain	S. S. E. - E. N. E.	fine breeze	69° 26'	10 26'		
The above Observations were made in an open Chamber.								
28	3	fun	N. E.	fresh	70° 49'	10 47'		
29	3	overcast	N. N. E.	very gentle				
30	2 1/2	25° exposed to the Sun, and sheltered from the Wind.	N. - N. W.	very gentle	71° 35'	12'		
31		fine	N. W.					

May	Thermometer.	State of the Atmosphere.	State of the Wind.	Force of the Wind.	Lat.	Lon.	Variations.	Barometer.
1	0	obscure	S. - S. E.	fresh	73° 3'	15' East		— 29 inches X
2	2 1/2	overcast	S. E.	fresh	75° 28'	30 12'	19° Variation	
3	2	fine fun	E.	gentle breeze	77° 17'	30 12'		28 inches 10 lines
4	1 1/2	overcast	S. S. E.	fresh	78° in sight of Clok Bay			28 9
5	2	overcast	S.	fresh at intervals				28 11
6	3	fine fun	S. W.	calm	79° 23'	40 10'	14° Variation	29 4
7	2	fine fun	S. S. W.	gentle				29 1 1/2
8	2	overcast	S. W.	calm	80° 56'	50'		29
9	2	overcast	W.	gentle				28 10
10	2	overcast	S. W.	fresh	80° 56'	50'	14° Variation	28 11
11	1 1/2	fun	S.	faint	80° 38'	40 25'		28 9
12	1 1/2	overcast	N. N. W.	very gentle	80° 25'			28 10 1/2
13	1 1/2	overcast	W.	fresh breeze				28 11
14	1	overcast	S. S. W.	fresh	80° 60' 20'		10° Variation	28 11
15	1 1/2	overcast	S. W.	calm	80° 15'	110° - 50' Varia.		
16	2	overcast	S. S. W.	considerably fresh	81°			28 4 1/2
17	3 1/2	overcast	E.	faint				28 4 1/2
18	7	overcast	N. N. E.	fresh				28 6
19	7	overcast	N. N. E.	somewhat fresh				28 9
20	8	overcast	N. N. W.	a little fresh				28 10 1/2
21	9	overcast	N. W.	gentle				29 3
22	9	overcast	N.	fine breeze				29 3 1/2
23	9	overcast	N.	a little fresh				29 1 1/2
24	7	overcast	N. N. W.	breeze				29 1 1/2
25	6	overcast	N. W.	breeze				29 1 1/2
26	6	overcast	N. N. E.	breeze				29 1 1/2
27	5	overcast	N. N. E. - N. E. 1/2 N.	gentle	78° 15'	0 15'	West.	29 4 1/2
28	2	overcast	E.	gentle	78° 8'	25'	20° Variation	29 4 1/2
29	2	coast of ice in the W.	S. S. E.	fresh breeze				29 1
30	1 1/2	overcast, caught in the ice	S. S. E.	gentle				29 4 1/2
31	3	overcast	N. N. W.	almost calm.				29 4 1/2

June	Thermometer.	State of the Atmosphere.	State of the Wind.	Force of the Wind.	Lat.	Lon.	Variations.	Barometer.
1	0	overcast	N. - S. W.	little wind - almost calm				— 29 inches X
2	3	overcast	S. W. 1/2 S.	fresh	78° 15'	20'		29 4 1/2
3	1	overcast	S. W. 1/2 S.	faint				28 inches 10 1/2 lines
4	1	overcast	S. 1/2 S. W.	faint				28
5	1	overcast	S. E.	a little fresh				28 7



